

3/1/78

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THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Wednesday - March 1, 1978

8:15 Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.

8:45 Mr. Frank Moore - The Oval Office.

9:00 Congressman Lee Hamilton. (Mr. Frank Moore).
(15 min.) The Oval Office.

9:30 Signing Ceremony for Black Lung Legislation.
(15 min.) (Mr. Frank Moore) - The State Dining Room.

10:00 Drop-By Briefing of the Senate Government
(15 min.) Affairs Committee on Reorganization.
(Mr. Frank Moore) - The Cabinet Room.

10:30 Mr. Jody Powell - The Oval Office.

12:10 Greetings/Photographs - The Oval Office.
(20 min.)

12:30 Lunch with Mrs. Rosalynn Carter - Oval Office.

1:30 Senator Wendell Ford. (Mr. Frank Moore).
(15 min.) The Oval Office.

2:00 Mr. James McIntyre - The Oval Office.
(20 min.)

1:30 PM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

MEETING WITH SENATOR WENDELL FORD

Wednesday, March 1, 1978
1:30 p.m. (15 minutes)
The Oval Office

From: Frank Moore *J.M./BR*

I. PURPOSE

To discuss the energy bill and the Panama Canal Treaties.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: The Senator has been sounding more positive on the Treaties lately. He also recognizes the need to get a natural gas bill and has indicated a willingness to play some role in arriving at a reasonable compromise.

Senators Jackson, Bumpers, Domenici, Hatfield and Johnston are meeting thru the course of today to resolve the remaining definitional questions. The definition the Secretary mentioned to you Saturday would allow a special incentive price of \$1.75 plus inflation for extension wells drilled in old reservoirs. This would be a compromise from the sold and delivered concept in the Pearson-Bentsen bill. The provision would add about \$3.5 to \$4.0 billion to the cost of the Jackson proposal of February 2, 1978, but would still leave the total package slightly below our most conservative estimate of the status quo (\$16 billion over the House bill compared to \$9 billion for the last Jackson offer). This compromise position gives the producers special new incentives while not allowing gas from the vast majority of wells to become deregulated as would have occurred.

Senator Ford serves on the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation (Consumer, Science and Space; Communications Subcommittees) and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources (Public Lands and Resources; Energy Production and Supply; Energy Research and Development Subcommittees). He is also Chairman of the Senatorial Democratic Campaign Committee. His wife's name is Jean.

B. Participants: The President
Senator Wendell Ford (D-Ky)
Frank Moore

C. Press Plan: White House Photo

III. TALKING POINTS

- A. You should emphasize to Senator Ford that we do not have the necessary 67 votes on the Panama Canal Treaties and that the last 3 or 4 will be hard to come by. We hope that he will be one of those soon.
- B. With regard to the natural gas bill, I am sure you can agree with me. Whether we consider producer interests or consumer interests, the nation cannot continue to allow the situation to deteriorate given the unworkable regulatory framework with which we are now faced. I believe it is essential that all sides recognize that to get a bill, both sides are going to have to give some ground and make changes in their traditional positions.
- C. I believe Senator Jackson has made a sincere effort in this direction.
- D. But those efforts will go for nought if there is no similar movement on the other side. The nation needs an energy bill and gas bill, and your cooperation is essential.
- E. I believe that the two sides are moving very close to a resolution. I think your definitional concerns can be met, and I hope as the Senate discussions move to the final stage, you will support the final compromise.

BLACK LUNG BENEFITS REFORM ACT OF 1977
MARCH 1, 1978

1

COAL MINING HAS ALWAYS BEEN A DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS TRADE,
AND AMONG ITS MOST TRAGIC RISKS HAS BEEN THAT OF BLACK LUNG.

THREE WEEKS AGO I SIGNED A BILL (~~P.L. 95-227~~) THAT PROVIDED
FOR A NEW TRUST FUND, TO BE SUPPORTED BY AN EXCISE TAX ON COAL,
TO PAY FOR BLACK LUNG BENEFITS.

2

TODAY I AM QUITE PLEASED TO SIGN H.R. 4544, THE BLACK LUNG
BENEFITS ACT OF 1977, TO STRENGTHEN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THAT
PROGRAM.

THESE TWO BILLS, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE MINE SAFETY AND HEALTH
AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1977, WHICH I SIGNED LAST YEAR, AMOUNT TO A
COMPREHENSIVE FEDERAL EFFORT TO REDUCE THE HUMAN AND SOCIAL COSTS
TO OUR GROWING DEPENDENCE ON COAL.

COAL MINERS HAVE A RIGHT TO WORKING CONDITIONS AS FREE AS
POSSIBLE FROM DANGEROUS COAL DUST.

THE BLACK LUNG PROGRAM RECOGNIZES THAT MINERS ^{& FAMILIES} ALSO DESERVE
COMPENSATION UNDER A FAIR SYSTEM WHEN THEY CONTRACT THIS TERRIBLE
DISEASE AND DIE OR ARE DISABLED AS A RESULT OF THEIR WORK IN THE
MINES.

IN THE PAST MINERS DISABLED BY BLACK LUNG DISEASE TOO OFTEN
HAVE BEEN DENIED THE BENEFITS THEY DESERVE.

THIS BILL WILL REMEDY MANY DEFECTS IN THE PROGRAM. IT
SIMPLIFIES AND STREAMLINES THE PROCESS OF FILING FOR BENEFITS AND
EXPANDS THE ELIGIBILITY TO INCLUDE RESPIRATORY AND PULMONARY
IMPAIRMENT OTHER THAN JUST OF THE LUNGS.

IT ELIMINATES UNFAIR RULES AND TIME LIMITS THAT HAVE PREVENTED
DISABLED MINERS AND THEIR SURVIVORS FROM RECEIVING BENEFITS.

THE LABOR DEPARTMENT WILL BE ALLOWED TO SET FAIR STANDARDS
OF ELIGIBILITY BASED ON THE LATEST MEDICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

TOGETHER THESE AMENDMENTS WILL ENSURE THAT MORE MINERS AND
THEIR FAMILIES WILL RECEIVE THE BENEFITS THEY DESERVE.

THE CONGRESS AND MY ADMINISTRATION HAVE WORKED CLOSELY TO
DEVELOP THESE BILLS BECAUSE OF OUR GREAT CONCERN ABOUT THE TRAGIC
EFFECTS OF BLACK LUNG DISEASE.

MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE WORKED FOR THIS BILL AND THE
COMPANION REVENUE BILL.

I WANT TO ESPECIALLY THANK CONGRESSMEN PERKINS, THOMPSON AND
ULLMAN, AND SENATORS RANDOLPH, BYRD, WILLIAMS AND LONG, ALONG WITH
THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEES, FOR THE PASSAGE OF THESE REFORMS.

HUDDLESTON

WE CANNOT RESTORE LIFE OR HEALTH TO THE VICTIMS OF THIS
DISEASE, BUT WE CAN AT LEAST HELP TO LIFT THE FINANCIAL BURDENS
THAT THESE DISABLED MINERS AND THEIR FAMILIES MUST BEAR.

THIS BILL ACCOMPLISHES THAT GOAL.

AS WE HAVE COME TO RECOGNIZE, INCREASED COAL PRODUCTION IS
VITAL TO OUR SUCCESS IN MEETING FUTURE ENERGY NEEDS.

BUT INCREASED COAL PRODUCTIONS MUST NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED
AT THE EXPENSE OF GREATER SUFFERING FOR COAL MINERS AND THEIR
FAMILIES.

THIS BILL IS ANOTHER DEMONSTRATION THAT THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO GIVE MINERS THE SUPPORT AND
FAIR TREATMENT THEY DESERVE.

#

#

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Zbig Brzezinski

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox and
is forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Jim McIntyre

RE: YOUR REPORT TO CONGRESS
ON UN REFORM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
✓	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON
✓		McINTYRE
		SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day

	ARAGON
✓	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	GAMMILL

	KRAFT
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PETTIGREW
	POSTON
	PRESS
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

36.9
J

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *LB.*
SUBJECT: Your Report to Congress on UN Reform

The Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1978 requires you to report to the Congress on the reform and restructuring of the UN system by January 31, 1978. We received an extension until today. The final report, which has been cleared by Secretary Vance and coordinated with Defense, was prepared for your signature late last week but over the weekend we received the attached memo from Jim McIntyre indicating OMB problems with three issues raised in the report. Attempts to resolve these issues were not successful.

In order for the final version of the report to be prepared by State for your signature this evening, your decision is required on three issues. (I have not attached the lengthy draft State report, which will be sent to you in final form for signature.)

Autonomous Sources of Revenue: State recommends that we study proposals which aim at the production of independent revenues for the UN system, and support a UN study, provided that any such revenue is subject to the same continuous scrutiny and control of governments as are current member state appropriations.

OMB disagrees, pointing out that a recommendation that the US support giving the UN autonomous sources of revenue would be controversial and raise the question of US ability to work effectively with a more independent UN. OMB believes we should not raise unrealistic expectations by endorsing autonomous sources of financing, even if only in principle, unless we are really committed to such an approach.

I agree with State. The US has already agreed to provide the UN with independent sources of revenue within the context of the Law of the Sea. We should be prepared to follow through with this and to explore other possibilities. State's proposal would commit us only to support exploration of such financing and would not commit the US to support the idea at this point as OMB alleges.

ok - provided we & other nations retain present control of budget (not
adequate UN now
Approve State/NSC position ☒
Approve OMB's position

Special Peacekeeping Fund: State recommends that we explore the possibility of establishing a \$100 million special peacekeeping fund to facilitate quick mobilization of UN peacekeeping efforts as they arise. The ready availability of at least an initial sum sufficient to permit the launching of even a sizeable peacekeeping operation would put the UN in a stronger position to move quickly when required. This idea reflects the widespread view that special methods of financing should be devised for large scale operations involving sizeable contingents of troops.

OMB opposes this recommendation, noting that the existence of such a fund would not lessen the political problems in obtaining agreement on UN intervention on a case by case basis. OMB states that, in their view, money itself has not been a serious impediment to mounting an agreed UN peacekeeping effort. Further, OMB believes the benefits of proposing such a fund have not been demonstrated and doubts that they would outweigh the risks of UN refusal to establish the fund or Congressional failure to appropriate for it.

We concur in State's recommendation as long as our participation is contingent on other nations contributing their fair share. The US has a clear interest in strengthening the role of the Security Council in peacekeeping operations, and we have always supported the concept of UN peacekeeping. The State report recommends only that we agree to explore this idea--not that we agree to establishment of such a fund, as OMB suggests.

Approve State/NSC position _____ ✓

Approve OMB's position _____

UN Deficit: State recommends that under certain conditions, including prior contributions by the Soviet Union and similar commitments from other countries, we would seek authority from the Congress to assist in reducing the UN's deficit by up to \$30 million as a means to leverage reduction in the critical problem of UN arrearages.

OMB disagrees with this recommendation, noting that it is highly unlikely that the Congress would appropriate a \$30 million voluntary contribution which critics would call a "bailout of the Soviets".

We agree completely with OMB on this issue. We have strong reservations to any approach whose bottom line, notwithstanding prior conditions that must be met, is that the US would pick up part of the Soviet Union's deficit in the UN.

Approve State's position _____

Jim McIntyre's memo at Tab A presents OMB's views in somewhat more detail on these issues.

I have asked my staff and the Department of State for an explanation why these issues were left unresolved until the last minute, thereby likely causing the report to reach the Congress at the eleventh hour, if not late.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

FEB 24 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: James T. McIntyre, Jr. *JTM*
Acting Director

SUBJECT: Report on UN Reform

I am concerned about the lengthy report on UN reform the State Department has prepared for your transmittal to the Congress. While I believe we should take a positive and forthcoming posture toward the UN, the report includes several recommendations that are unlikely to be accepted by the United Nations or by the Congress. I am particularly concerned about three matters:

1. The recommendation that the U.S. support giving the UN "autonomous sources of revenue" by several means including "imposing charges (e.g., UN "taxes") on international commerce, communications or movement of persons." Such a recommendation would be very controversial, to say the least. Furthermore, neither we nor previous administrations have actively encouraged autonomous sources of financing for the UN. I believe the proposal will raise the fundamental question of US ability to work effectively with a more independent (and to critics, thus less responsible) UN. We should not raise unrealistic expectations by endorsing autonomous sources of financing, even if only in principle, unless we are really committed to such an approach.

2. The report recommends establishment of a \$100 million UN contingency fund to facilitate quick mobilization of UN peacekeeping efforts as they arise. The U.S. portion would probably be \$25 million. The existence of such a fund, of course, would not lessen the political problems in obtaining agreement on UN intervention on a case by case basis. To our knowledge, money in itself has never been a serious impediment to mounting an agreed UN peacekeeping effort. We believe it highly unlikely that the UN would establish a fund, and Congress does not like to appropriate large contingency funds. I don't think the benefits of proposing such a fund have been demonstrated and I doubt they outweigh the risks of UN refusal to establish the fund or Congressional failure to appropriate for it.

3. Because the Soviet Union and other "Bloc" nations have refused to pay assessments for certain past UN peacekeeping operations and have made some of their assessed contributions in nonconvertible currencies (contrary to UN regulations), the UN has accumulated a deficit over the years of about \$120 million. While it is not clear how seriously that deficit currently inhibits UN operations, State and the UN Secretariat have for some time considered the deficit to be serious enough to warrant some special inter-governmental efforts. The report states that you would seek a \$30 million appropriation toward reducing the deficit, depending on responses of other nations. While neither the UN nor the Soviets are likely to respond, State believes it would "call the Soviet bluff." I think it highly unlikely that the Congress would appropriate a \$30 million voluntary contribution which our critics could call a "bailout of the Soviets." I recommend that the \$30 million proposal be deleted from the report.

State Department staff believe that failure to include these initiatives would so reduce the impact of the report as to make it unacceptable to the UN supporters. I disagree, and believe that there are sufficient positive aspects (e.g., endorsement of specific initiatives to further the peaceful settlement of disputes) in the report without making these objectionable commitments. We have alerted State to our concerns and believe that the above modifications can be accomplished through routine editing of their draft. If you share our view that the three initiatives cited above should be deleted, we will work with State and NSC to modify the draft.

Modify before signing _____

Approve as is _____

Make only partial changes _____

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*not
substantiated*

February 28, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: DAVID AARON *DA*
SUBJECT: Report on UN Reform

Jim McIntyre has sent you a memorandum expressing his concern about three issues in the State Department's report on UN Reform. The NSC disagrees with OMB on two of the issues.

With respect to "Autonomous Sources of Revenue," the United States already has agreed to provide the UN with independent sources of revenue within the context of the Law of the Sea. We should be prepared to follow through with this and to explore other possibilities. The State Department proposal would commit us only to support exploration of the idea and a UN study, and would not commit the U.S. to support the idea at this point as OMB alleges.

Nor is there any major obstacle to our agreeing to explore the possibility of establishing a "\$100 million Special Peace Keeping Fund," as long as other nations do likewise. We have always supported the concept of UN peace keeping and here again the State report recommends only that we agree to explore this idea -- not that we recommend the establishment of such a fund as OMB suggests.

With respect to the "Proposal for \$30 million to Leverage Reduction in UN Arrearages," we are in complete agreement with OMB. We have strong reservations to any approach whose bottom line is that the U.S. would pick up part of the Soviet deficit in the United Nations.

12:20 PM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

MEETING WITH REP. BILLY LEE EVANS (D-8-Ga.) AND ARTIST

Wednesday, March 1, 1978

12:20 p.m. (3 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Frank Moore *F.M./BR*

I. PURPOSE

Acceptance of a painting by Mr. Oliver Snow of Macon, Georgia.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

Background: This is Rep. Evans' (wife-April) first term in the Congress. He is a member of the Judiciary Committee and the Committee on Public Works and Transportation.

Rep. Evans will be accompanied by Mr. Oliver Snow of Macon, Georgia. Mr. Snow will be presenting to you a painting of an eight-point buck as a gift to the White House. In addition, Mrs. Louise Burkhalter will be present. She owns Ocnulgee Arts in Macon and concentrates on promoting Georgia art by Georgia artists. Mr. Snow exhibits his art work with Ocnulgee Arts.

Participants: The President, Rep. Billy Lee Evans, Mr. Oliver Snow, Mrs. Louise Burkhalter, Frank Moore, and Bill Cable.

Press Plan: White House Photographer.

NOTE: In case Billy Lee mentions it to you, you should be aware that we are trying to work out a photo session with you and 100 Georgia Jay Cee's at the request of the Georgia Delegation.

12:00 PM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

MEETING WITH EASTER SEAL CHILD

Wednesday, March 1, 1978

12:00 p.m. (5 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: MARGARET COSTANZA *mc*

I. PURPOSE

To greet Tony Zidek, the 1978 National Easter Seal Child and to receive the first sheet of 1978 Easter Seals.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

A. Background: The White House visit by the Easter Seal Child is a traditional event that calls national attention to the Easter Seal Society's annual fund raising drive. This year's child, five-year old Tony Zidek of Wonder Lake, Illinois, is the second Easter Seal Child to be greeted by President Carter. Last year, the President received seven-year old Danya Steele of Arkansas.

B. Participants: Mr. Charles C. Campbell, President
National Easter Seal Society

Mr. E. Budd Gray
AP Photographer

Mr. Keith Roberts, Director, Public Relations
National Easter Seal Society

Mr. Donald W. Ullman, Executive Director
National Easter Seal Society

Master Anthony Zidek
National Easter Seal Child

Mrs. Janice Zidek
Mother of National Child

C. Press Plan: White House Photo

III. TALKING POINTS

- A. Tony's achievements are described in photo-information page (see attached).
- B. Easter Seal Centers treat people with disabilities due to any cause: cerebral palsy, muscular dystrophy, multiple sclerosis, speech and hearing disorders, birth defects and others.
- C. Easter Seal Societies at National, state and local levels are governed by volunteer boards involving 30,000 volunteers in addition to the 800,000 volunteers who assist in fund raising.

TRANSFER SHEET

Jimmy Carter Library

COLLECTION: Carter Presidential Papers-Staff Offices, Office of Staff Sec.-Pres. Handwriting File

Acc. No.: 80-1

The following material was withdrawn from this segment of the collection and transferred to the xx Audiovisual Collection Museum Collection Book Collection
Other (Specify: _____)

DESCRIPTION:

8" x 10" Advertisement photo of Tony Zidek-1978 National Easter Seal Child, w/text

Series: Office of Staff Sec.-Pres. Handwriting File

Box No.: Box 75

File Folder Title: 3/1/78

Transferred by: KJS

Date of Transfer: 5/10/90

TONY ZIDEK—THE 1978 NATIONAL EASTER SEAL CHILD

ENCOURAGEMENT AND HOPE FOR A BETTER TOMORROW THROUGH HELP FROM EASTER SEALS



TONY ZIDEK

Tony Zidek, 5, of Wonder Lake, Illinois, has been named the 1978 National Easter Seal Child because of his progress and courage in combatting the effects of a disabling spinal birth defect. Through therapy at his local Easter Seal Center, Tony has been taught to walk with aids. The advances he has made through his therapy program have given him the confidence to take his place as a happy, inquisitive, intelligent child. Now attending kindergarten in a public school, he's proud that he has learned to swim the length of a pool. Tony is representative of the many thousands of children and adults helped by the nationwide Easter Seal rehabilitation network.



Tony and his mother, Janice, a widow, enjoy many activities together. One of their favorites is reading, especially when it's the adventures of Dr. Seuss's "Cat In the Hat." Tony has his own cat, Tiger, an orange tabby. Tony says Tiger is smarter than Morris of television fame.



Marge Swanson, Tony's physical therapist at the McHenry County, Illinois Easter Seal Center, works with Tony weekly to keep his coordination and muscular strength as efficient as possible. Marge and Tony have discovered that their common goal—a better life for Tony—has made them fast friends.

**THE NATIONAL EASTER SEAL SOCIETY
FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN AND ADULTS**

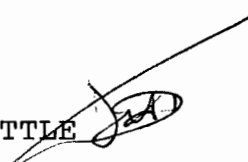
2023 W. Ogden Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60612

1978 Campaign dates: March 1-31, 1978

FALLOWS TALKING
POINTS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 28, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JIM FALLOWS, JERRY DOOLITTLE 
SUBJECT: Talking Points for March 1
Easter Seal Child Ceremony

1. This year's Easter Seal Child, five-year-old Tony Zidek of Wonder Lake, Illinois, is the son of a widowed mother, Janice, who works as a substitute teacher while she studies for a degree as a lawyer's assistant. Although born with a spinal defect, Tony has learned to walk with the aid of local Easter Seal Center therapists. He can also ride a tricycle, and swim the length of a pool.
2. Easter Seal Societies are governed by volunteer boards with some 30,000 members at national, state and local levels. Some 800,000 more volunteers help with fund raising. Volunteerism is a special interest of yours, and of your wife's -- in part because of the example set by your mother. In Georgia, volunteers played an important role in bringing government services to citizens.
3. Last year HEW announced new regulations designed to get children with special problems, like Tony, into regular classrooms. The handicapped are a minority whose needs have been too long neglected. You are determined to do what the Federal government can to remove the barriers keeping children like Tony from a normal life.

4. Tony is in kindergarten now, but will leave school for the month of March to travel all over the country during the Easter Seal Campaign. April 1-2 he will become a TV star -- on the Easter Seal Television. Tony represents the thousands of children and adults, disabled for all causes, who benefit from Easter Seal services.

#

12:15 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

FAREWELL PHOTOGRAPH WITH J. PAUL BENSON

Wednesday, March 1, 1978

12:15 p.m. (5 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Hugh Carter *HC*

I. PURPOSE

Farewell Photograph

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Paul Benson was Executive Communications Administrator for AT&T until his retirement last November. Since August, 1966, he worked directly with WHCA in support of communications for all Presidential trips. Paul personally made 381 domestic and 66 foreign trips. He was born in Buena Vista, Georgia.

B. Participants: J. Paul Benson
Jean Benson
Chip Benson
Col. Edwin B. Cantrell, III - Acting
Commander, White House Communications
Agency
Hugh Carter

C. Press Plan: White House Photographer

THE WHITE HOUSE

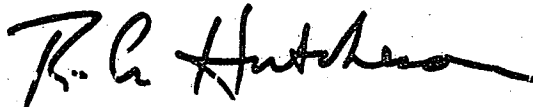
WASHINGTON

1 March 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE HONORABLE GRACIELA OLIVAREZ
Director of Community Services
Administration

Re: You Memo of January 25, 1978,
"National Award Program for
Outstanding Contributions in
Community Service by American
Enterprises"

The President reviewed the proposed presidential
award program outlined in your memo of January 25,
and decided against establishing the program
at the time.



Rick Hutcheson
Staff Secretary

cc: Stu Eizenstat
Jim McIntyre

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc Mehemet
Lipshutz of

para. 2

only

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

28 February 1978

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RICK HUTCHESON *RL*
SUBJECT: Memos Not Submitted

1. GRACE OLIVAREZ MEMO recommending the creation of a Presidential award program to recognize outstanding contributions of American business to the poor and disadvantaged. CSA would administer the program.

Greg Schneiders concurs with the CSA proposal. OMB, Stu Eizenstat, and Midge Costanza point out that a number of agencies are considering similar "corporate awards for social responsibility," and suggest that CSA's proposal be coordinated with these agencies.

_____ approve Eizenstat exploring the idea of a
'corporate award for social responsibility'
with CSA and other human service agencies

✓ _____ not interested in additional presidential
award programs

_____ other _____

2. (FOR YOUR INFORMATION.) Several companies affected by the shoe import decision have filed to enjoin implementation of that decision. The Government has been served with an official request for all documents relating to this decision, including memos from senior Administration officials to the President. These documents come within the purview of Executive Privilege. Lipshutz & McKenna plan to have a Justice Department lawyer examine the documents in your file relating to this decision, and prepare an affidavit claiming Executive Privilege in this instance. I bring this to your attention because, heretofore, we have not given anyone access to your personal files.

*\$ will
not
J*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

HOLD WHILE OMB CIRCULATES
TO OTHER INVOLVED AGENCIES,
PER OMB COMMENT, ATTACHED.

Action - attached

Labor - attached

HRW - attached

Sue Wobey on leave
for 10 days

Done lead
3532

WASHINGTON

*

DATE: 26 JAN 78

FOR ACTION: MIDGE COSTANZA *attached*STU EIZENSTAT *attached*

JODY POWELL

JIM MCINTYRE *attached*GREG SCHNEIDERS *attached*

INFO ONLY: THE VICE PRESIDENT

HAMILTON JORDAN

BOB LIPSHUTZ

FRANK MOORE (LES FRANCIS)

JACK WATSON

SUBJECT: OLIVAREZ MEMO RE NATIONAL AWARD PROGRAM FOR OUTSTANDING
CONTRIBUTIONS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE BY AMERICAN
ENTERPRISE

+++++
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +
+ BY: 1200 PM SATURDAY 28 JAN 78 +
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED:

STAFF RESPONSE: () I CONCUR. () NO COMMENT. () HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

Parti - call CSA - memos shared
come here

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FOR STAFFING
<input type="checkbox"/>	FOR INFORMATION
<input type="checkbox"/>	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
<input type="checkbox"/>	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
<input type="checkbox"/>	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MONDALE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	COSTANZA
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	EIZENSTAT
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JORDAN
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LIPSHUTZ
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MOORE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	POWELL
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<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McINTYRE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SCHULTZE

<input type="checkbox"/>	ENROLLED BILL
<input type="checkbox"/>	AGENCY REPORT
<input type="checkbox"/>	CAB DECISION
<input type="checkbox"/>	EXECUTIVE ORDER

Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

<input type="checkbox"/>	ARAGON
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<input type="checkbox"/>	WARREN

Community WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506
Services Administration



January 25, 1978

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THRU : Hamilton Jordan
Assistant to the President

Stu Eizenstat
Assistant to the President

FROM : Graciela (Grace) Olivarez *GO*
Director

SUBJECT: Suggested Format for the:

National Award Program for Outstanding Contributions in
Community Service by American Enterprise (tentative title)

During the last several decades there has developed an accelerating awareness in American society of the social responsibility of individuals and institutions to problems of injustice and inequity faced by its disadvantaged members. That awareness was given impetus by landmark legal decisions and by legislation which sought to right the imbalance. Among those legislative enactments was the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, with its mandate to assist the poor in achieving economic equity.

Out of this momentum and because of it, changes for the better occurred in terms of acceptance of social responsibility, whether liked or not, by institutions who previously saw little need for concern. While these institutional changes have not been everywhere nor have they been complete, they nevertheless have occurred.

Parallel with the growth of social responsibility by institutions in the private sector was the evolution of organized community grass-roots efforts which sought to give voice to the felt needs of the poor and disadvantaged. The emergence of these community-based organizations, generally in non-profit corporate status, has been legitimately referred to by recognized social commentators as the Third Sector.

If we now give due consideration to the non-profit organization's Third Sector status, along-side the other two sectors, the Public and Private, some logical questions arise. The most obvious questions come in examining the relationship of the Non-Profit Sector to the other two. For the purpose of this program we are concerned primarily with the relationship, or lack of it, of the Non-Profit Sector to the Private Sector.

As previously stated, the Private Sector (American business in particular) both large and small, corporate and non-corporate, has assumed increasing social responsibility. In the main however, these activities have been spotty, highly individual and lacking a central theme. That is not to say we discourage individual initiative, quite to the contrary. Individual or local initiative is the very core of the Economic Opportunity Act and the Community Services Act. Our critical concern is the less than effective understanding, by both the Private Sector and Non-Profit Sector, of their common cause. This lack of understanding makes it difficult if not impossible for them to always identify their compatibilities and their common goals. The National Award Program, as suggested by Community Services Administration, is a simple but a significant attempt to more adequately and effectively utilize the resources of each Sector in a cooperative partnership, to achieve their mutual social objectives.

What we suggest is a structure or mechanism which recognizes Private Sector contributions to social needs as measured against the objectives of the Non-Profit community-based organization: with the Non-Profit organization as the key component in the nominating process. Again, we feel this to be a simple but practical way of stimulating and identifying the commonality of their goals and increasing the contact and conversation between the two Sectors. Why do we feel this approach to be important and workable?

Simply put, the range of social concerns is as broad as society itself, reaching from agricultural problems to housing, from employment to education, from health to energy and the environment. There is no longer any argument that business and industry must attempt to carry out their business in ways that both contribute to the well-being of the community and are responsive to its concerns. For, in the long run, the strength of the community determines the soundness of American enterprise.

However the problems and needs of communities, like those of successful private institutions, constantly shift and evolve, and no responsible member of any Sector can assume that last year's actions will meet the measures of today, nor that today's needs will remain the same tomorrow. These are among the reasons we feel the Award Program can significantly aid the continuous process of aggressive learning and adjustment.

Having said that, we have hopefully set the stage for a discussion of the Award Program's premise, mechanism and objectives.

PREMISE

Community Services Administration recommends the creation of a Presidentially sponsored annual award program which recognizes the outstanding contributions of American business and industry to the poor and disadvantaged of their communities.

Such an award program should carry the full weight and prestige of the White House and be presided over by the President of the United States.

However, we wish to very carefully stress the fact that these awards should be viewed by the White House as being limited in scope and are not intended to provide a blanket endorsement of every aspect of a firm's activities. We fully realize that a firm may perform admirably in some community activity and yet be subject to valid criticism for some unrelated business policy.

At this stage we are suggesting a total of ten awards. There would be nine awards for three classes of firms, small, medium-sized and the large corporate enterprise, in three categories. The tenth award would be one for overall excellence. We do see the practical necessity of differentiating between various types of firms or industry areas simply because their structures are different. For example, the assessment of the finance or life insurance industry is different than heavy manufacturing. We intend to deal with this issue as part of the work involved in preparing the Award Program Working Document. Should this require a change in the number of awards we will try to keep that number as close as possible to the original ten.

The three categories would be broadly defined as, a) Community Partnership, b) Corporate Leadership and c) Social Commitment. These categories are supported by the following criteria statements:

- Community Partnership; the extent to which the firm, as a corporate citizen, has used its assets and talents to solve the community's needs.
- Corporate Leadership; the extent to which the firm has stated its and the community's positions on matters of social importance in ways that are clear and unequivocal.
- Social Commitment; the extent to which the firm as a community institution has committed itself to specific and socially responsible programs and policies, not out of a sense of altruism but, in acknowledgement of their co-existence with all elements of the community.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of such a program are threefold:

- to provide legitimate recognition to business and industry for socially responsible contributions to their communities. And to provide that recognition at the highest possible Federal level;
- through the creation of the award program, to stimulate competition for recognition among private firms at all levels and for all sizes of firms;
- most importantly, through the mechanism of the nominating process to also stimulate the identity of common goals by private firms and non-profit community-based organizations in requiring that they seek each other out. The ultimate purpose of this identification is a better use of Private Sector resources for socially needed projects as seen by the communities.

MECHANISM

Based on the discussion to this point, many of the Program's mechanics suggest themselves quite easily. While all the items in the following outline are essential, the only ones which are critical relate to the nominating process.

The Award Program would contain the following, as either imperatives or highly desirable components:

1. The CSA Grantee network, Community Action Agencies and Limited Purpose Agencies, would be used as the key component in the nominating process. Nominations will be made against the criteria provided them in detailed instructions.
2. Nominations will also be allowed through a Headquarters mechanism to insure access to the Award Program for firms located in areas where we have no agencies or who would be overlooked for some mechanical reason.
3. Responsible citizen participation groups who may not be CSA grantees will be allowed to submit nominations through CSA Regional Offices.
4. Regional selection committees will make first round selections, reducing total nominations to a manageable

number for the final selection committee. There should be no more than ten nominees per category.

5. The finalists will be chosen by an Award Selection Committee of seven to nine persons whose qualifications and credentials would be nationally recognized and above reproach. Among the members of this Committee would be the National Director of CSA.

6. The selection process will include an incentive and recognition for the sponsoring grantees by their participation in the White House ceremony if their nominee is an Award finalist. This suggestion has been strongly endorsed by those industry people we have contacted.

7. We recommend that the Award ceremony itself be at the White House and presided over by the President. We strongly urge consideration of a luncheon or even a dinner to heighten the importance of the Award.

8. In order to add further meaningfulness to the Award we suggest that each year's winners be added to the Award Selection Committee as participants in the next year's selection. They would, of course, be excluded for consideration in that year.

9. Announcement of the Award Program would occur through a carefully designed White House and Agency press conference. This conference would display joint support and endorsement by inclusion of representative members of the Private Sector and Community Action Agency network.

Subject to this Agency's receipt of an indication of interest in principle from the White House, we are prepared to put the Final Award Program design in motion. That final design will be submitted to the White House as an Award Program Working Document. That design will not only include our suggestions to date but include the input of authoritative voices from Federal, Community, industry and Local Government areas. We feel such input is highly desirable to insure that the Award Program's fine points reflect the standards, goals and needs of all participants in the process.

In the preparation of this paper we have used a representative sampling of persons, inside and outside the Federal Government, business leaders, community leaders and recognized commentators in the field of corporate responsibility, in order to validate our original ideas. The reaction has been universally supportive. But as will be noted, we have made no

reference to specific persons or organizations since we felt that in this paper we should deal with the concept only.

We are sincerely appreciative of the opportunity afforded this agency in presenting our thoughts. Our suggestions are respectfully submitted in knowledge that we share common concerns for a common constituency.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MEMORANDUM FOR RICK HUTCHESON

THROUGH: BO CUTTER *BC*

FROM: JOHN SEAL/SUE WOOLSEY *JS* *SW*

SUBJECT: Olivarez Memo re National Award Program for
Outstanding Contributions in Community Service
by American Enterprise

Obviously, CSA sponsored organizations are not the only "Third Sector" organizations serving the disadvantaged who must relate to the private sector. There are many federally supported community based non-profit organizations serving the disadvantaged outside the CSA network which have developed long-standing and effective relationships with the private sector; i.e., Goodwill, Salvation Army, Opportunities Industrialization Centers, CETA sponsored organizations, Vocational Rehabilitation (Projects with Industry), Native American programs, Head Start, Aging, ESEA Title I programs and related Parent Advisory Councils, etc. This is not an exhaustive list. Overlooking the contributions and activities of these "Third Sector" organizations to improving the welfare of the disadvantaged in a Presidential Awards process would be considered by some as inequitable. Thus, we suggest circulation of this proposal to other human service agencies serving the disadvantaged for their review and comment--particularly HEW and DOL.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To Rick

DATE: 26 JAN 78

FOR ACTION: MIDGE COSTANZA

STU EIZENSTAT

JODY POWELL

JIM MCINTYRE

GREG SCHNEIDERS

INFO ONLY: THE VICE PRESIDENT

HAMILTON JORDAN

BOB LIPSHUTZ

FRANK MOORE (LES FRANCIS)

JACK WATSON

SUBJECT: OLIVAREZ MEMO RE NATIONAL AWARD PROGRAM FOR OUTSTANDING
CONTRIBUTIONS IN COMMUNITY SERVICE BY AMERICAN
ENTERPRISE

+++++
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +
+ BY: 1200 PM SATURDAY 28 JAN 78 +
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

STAFF RESPONSE: () I CONCUR. () NO COMMENT. () HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

I am opposed to new Presidential awards in general because I believe that a proliferation of them will only devalue Presidential recognition of achievement. This proposal, however, has appeal for two reasons. First, in addition to recognizing laudable actions in the past it provides a systematic and on-going incentive for socially responsible private-sector action. Second, it may mitigate some of the criticism of the Administration for the more heavy-handed "index of social responsibility" proposed by Commerce. On balance, I would support the proposal.

WASHINGTON

DATE: 26 JAN 78

FOR ACTION: MIDGE COSTANZA

STU EIZENSTAT

JODY POWELL

JIM MCINTYRE

GREG SCHNEIDERS

INFO ONLY: THE VICE PRESIDENT

HAMILTON JORDAN

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SUBJECT: OLIVAREZ MEMO RE NATIONAL AWARD PROGRAM FOR OUTSTANDING
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+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +
+ BY: 1200 PM SATURDAY 28 JAN 78 +
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

STAFF RESPONSE: () I CONCUR. () NO COMMENT. () HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

Perhaps this proposal should be checked against the indexing program announced
some months ago by the Commerce Department so that any overlap can be avoided.

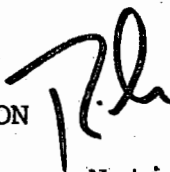
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

30 January 1978

TO: JOHN SEAL
SUE WOOLSEY

FROM: RICK HUTCHESON 

SUBJECT: Olivarez Memo re National Award
Program for Outstanding Contribu-
tions in Community Service by
American Enterprise

As suggested in your comment (attached), please circulate this proposal to other human service agencies serving the disadvantaged for their comment. I will hold it in the meantime. Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*
FRANK RAINES
MARCY KAPTUR

SUBJECT: Olivarez Memorandum on Community
Service Awards to American Businesses

I have no objection to this proposal from a policy standpoint. It is possible that it could be a part of your appeal for a New Spirit of Partnership between the public and private sectors. I would not, however, give it a very high priority for your time.

The proposal requires a great deal more work in determining what type of activities are eligible for the awards and how the winners are to be selected. I would suggest that Grace be asked to work with us, Midge and/or Greg Schneiders to further evolve the idea. Several other agencies are considering a similar "corporate award for social responsibility" and they should be included in the overall planning process.

In my view, your participation should be limited to the awards presentation, if your schedule permits. We should also be careful not to encourage a proliferation of agency awards programs.



THE UNDER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

FEB 15 1978

cc Suzanne
Woolsey

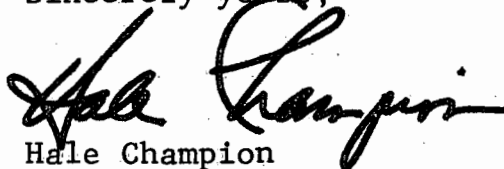
Mr. Rick Hutcheson
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Hutcheson:

This is in response to Suzanne H. Woolsey's
February 6 memorandum requesting our comments
on the CSA proposed National Award Program.

Like all suggestions, it has some merit, especially
if used by an imaginative administrator to further
a particular program, and HEW will be pleased to
participate. It does not seem to us to warrant
high priority attention, however.

Sincerely yours,


Hale Champion

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc S Wausley

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210



FEB 21 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICK HUTCHESON

FROM: ROBERT J. BROWN
Under Secretary

SUBJECT: National Award Program

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Robert J. Brown", is written over the "FROM:" line of the memorandum.

This is in response to Suzanne Woolsey's memorandum of February 6, 1978. Thank you for the opportunity to comment on the Community Services Administration proposal to establish a National Award Program for Outstanding Contributions in Community Service by American Enterprise.

Ms. Olivarez is to be complimented on this proposal which suggests that appropriate recognition be given in an area that is long overdue in addition to providing the Administration with the opportunity for developing closer linkages with business and industry. The Award Program's premise, mechanism and objectives are sound and provide a basis on which to develop a carefully planned and coordinated public relations initiative in behalf of the Administration, CSA and the participating agencies.

The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, which receives administrative support services from the Department of Labor, provides for annual recognition of individuals and firms in business, industry and community service for outstanding contributions to their program in a manner similar to that which is proposed under the National Award Program. Perhaps an early meeting of CSA officials and representatives of the President's Committee would be helpful in launching the program and ensuring its success. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the various public interest groups with headquarters in Washington should also be able to provide advice and assistance in implementing this program.

It appears that further refinement of the concept will require work on the part of Regional level officials as well as input from community based non-profit organizations. Please be advised that the Department of Labor may be called upon to provide further assistance in obtaining the program's objectives.



OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

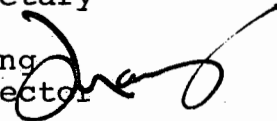
ACTION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20525

February 16, 1978

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rick Hutcheson
Staff Secretary

FROM: Mary E. King
Deputy Director 

SUBJECT: National Award Program for Outstanding
Contributions in Community Service
by American Enterprise

We would suggest, in the interest of coherent planning, that the proposal from the Community Services Administration be considered in concert with the study already being conducted by the National Center for Voluntary Action in Washington. NCVA, with grants from two business foundations, is currently studying the accomplishments and contributions of corporate employees serving as volunteers to address pressing human, social and environmental problems.

We would call attention as well to the fact that national awards for volunteer activity have been given for 27 years in a program now coordinated by NCVA and that for most of those years the President or Vice President has appeared to give the awards. (Last year Mrs. Mondale represented the Administration.) Business institutions have always been invited to participate in that award process.

In October of 1977, a ceremony in New York honored 29 U.S. corporations for promoting volunteer efforts and for the work of their employees. Sam Brown represented the Administration at that national event.

Finally, we would call your attention to the fact that American Enterprise (as in the proposed title of the CSA award) is already used by a very conservative political organization.

cc: Suzanne H. Woolsey



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON D.C. 20503

FEB 6 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: Honorable Hale Champion
Under Secretary
Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare

Honorable Robert J. Brown
Under Secretary
Department of Labor

Honorable Mary E. King
Deputy Director
ACTION

FROM: Suzanne R. Woolsey
Associate Director

SUBJECT: Olivarez Memo re National Award Program
for Outstanding Contributions in Community
Service by American Enterprise

Rick Hutcheson requested our views on the attached proposal and in response we suggested that other agencies involved with community based non-profit organizations also make their views known. Please review the CSA proposal and send your comments directly to Rick Hutcheson, White House, with an information copy to me by February 10.

Thank you.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Stu Eizenstat
Hamilton Jordan
Jody Powell

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: The Vice President
Frank Moore

RE: "CONGRESS TURNS RIGHTWARD"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
✓	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI
✓	
✓	
✓	
✓	

MONDALE
COSTANZA
EIZENSTAT
JORDAN
LIPSHUTZ
MOORE - 1st page
POWELL
WATSON
McINTYRE
SCHULTZE

return orig to me

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER

Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

ARAGON
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PETERSON
PETTIGREW
POSTON
PRESS
SCHLESINGER
SCHNEIDERS
STRAUSS
VOORDE
WARREN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

rick--

please see president's
note to ham, stu and jody

-- susan

Thomas B. Edsall

DISSENT
WINTER '78

Bob R.

To President Carter

F41

This is right on the
money!
Frank Moore

Congress Turns Rightward

Reform, once seen as the vehicle to free the House of Representatives from the constraints of conservative leadership, is now serving increasingly to weaken the power of a liberal leadership at a time when pressures on the younger members come from the right. Working in tandem with basic shifts in the substance and style of district politics and with the growing perception that the country may face an economy of scarcity, the reform movement in the House has in part returned to one of the roots of reform in American history: a restrictive view in which corruption and a government of largesse become, if not one and the same, closely intertwined.

In the first session of the 95th Congress, there is abundant evidence of a shift to the right. Election-day voter registration, perhaps the most effective measure to increase the political leverage of the poor, is dead. Creation of a consumer-protection agency, acceptable even to the conservatism of Jimmy Carter, faces probable defeat or dilution in the House despite the presence of 289 Democrats. Common situs legislation expanding the right of organized labor to picket construction sites—a proposal passed in 1975 by a vote of 229 to 189—was defeated last year, March 23, by a margin of 217 to 205. Other votes include passage of antibusing amendments, a blanket prohibition of the use of federal funds for abortions, the denial of benefits to Vietnam War-era veterans whose discharges were upgraded under a presidential directive, and defeat of key minimum-wage amendments.

These votes are cast at a time when only token remnants of the once-powerful conservative Southern Democrats remain in power.

Of the current roster of 22 committee chairmen, 15 had favorability ratings of 80 percent or more from the AFL-CIO in 1976. Carl Albert, one of the weakest speakers in history, has been replaced by Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr., perhaps the quintessential Northern Democrat, and a politician who thrives on the manipulation of votes to build majorities.

This essentially liberal leadership is faced, however, with a growing body of younger members who are not only reform-minded but also conservative. To intensify the conflict, reform has clipped the power of the speaker and the committee chairmen to line up votes among the younger members and, despite portrayals of O'Neill's tenure as a return to the tradition of a strong speaker, his political muscle is highly fragile. "You know, there is nothing the leadership can offer me, really nothing," Richard A. Gephardt, Democrat of St. Louis and one of the stars of the freshmen class, noted with some pleasure during an interview.

Gephardt, to a large extent, personifies the difficulties facing O'Neill and the other, older Democratic leaders whose roots are in the Roosevelt coalition. Gephardt, who represents the white half of St. Louis and adjoining white suburbs to the South, was elected to the St. Louis City Council as a young turk and now, as a member of Congress, he does not owe his election to any city organization.

This lack of a debt to any locally based political organization, which has become the rule among members elected since 1968, is one of the basic steps toward autonomy from the

cc Ham
Stu
Jody -
Please read
J.C.

House leadership. One of the traditional mechanisms used by the leadership to reward or penalize new members was the granting or denial of pork-barrel projects: courthouses, post offices, roads. These projects allowed members to proclaim their personal power to the voters—but, more important, the projects provided jobs and contracts to the clubhouse politicians back in the district whose decision whether or not to endorse a new member for reelection often determined the outcome of the contest. Now, Gephardt pointed out, not only is there no traditional organization demanding that it be paid off, but “pork-barrel deals would hurt me in my district.”

The local organizations, which could once make or break a junior member, have been replaced by institutionalized personal organizations available to any member once elected. In addition to the small district cadre that any candidate needs to get elected, Congress, in the name of reform, has granted each member a personal staff of 18, a computer service that is the envy of any direct-mail specialist, and the creation, by every agency of the executive branch, of a “congressional liaison” section, whose function is to grant a prompt response to every request from a member on behalf of district constituents.

These perquisites have been developed and are based on the argument that they provide the services essential for sound judgment on issues before the House. In terms of House politics, however, the critical fact is that these benefits are handed out on an entirely neutral basis.

For the members with a rudimentary sensitivity to their district, these perquisites guarantee reelection and have served to break critical dependency on the leadership for elective victory. New members can service their district and, through well-established public-relations techniques, project an image that is almost totally independent of committee assignment, passage of sponsored bills, or the award of public-works projects. Most important, the leadership cannot penalize any recalcitrant member by taking from him this machinery for reelection.

Although the House has progressively weakened the powers of the committee chairs and seemingly added to the procedural leverage of the speaker—giving him control over the Rules Committee, for example—the major development has been the rise of the Democratic caucus on which, ultimately, almost all the speaker's powers depend. This group, which now has a majority of members who have served three or fewer terms, gives final sanction to committee and floor rules, elects the leadership, and decides whether committee chairpersons will keep their jobs. The democratization of House Democrats has served to reinforce the independence of the membership. To a certain extent, power is the authority to make discretionary decisions, benefiting some and hurting others. The presence of the caucus and its demonstrated willingness to vote out of office four committee chairmen—Patman, Sikes, Hebert, Poage—acts as a major brake on the exercise of discretionary power.

O'Neill's talent as speaker has been to define the terms on which his own power is judged. He does not place the prestige of his office behind a bill until it is ready for floor action and the votes are counted. In this way, he has taken credit for the passage of a new ethics code, the federal pay increase, and the energy bill—while avoiding any liability for the failure of common situs, election-day registration, and consumer protection. The measure for which he is given the most credit—the ethics code—was in fact critical to the establishment of his credibility as a leader; without it, he faced debilitating defections from the junior members. O'Neill, however, does not have the authority to be autocratic within the confines of congressional procedure or the power to either insure or seriously injure a member's chance of reelection.

The Rules Committee has become in large part an arm of the leadership, but it is generally obliged to send bills to the floor with rules permitting up-and-down votes on major issues within the legislation. O'Neill has the discretionary power to appoint special ad hoc

committees, such as the Energy Committee, but he has had to guarantee adequate representation in its membership of all regional interests. (O'Neill's attempt to formally expand his procedural power by winning approval for the creation of a House "administrator" recommended by the Obey Commission and to be appointed by the speaker was overwhelmingly defeated: 252 to 160.) New members dismiss out of hand what in the days of Sam Rayburn was an accepted truth: that the leadership had absolute control over each member's congressional career. This weakness in the present Speaker's power was quietly reflected in O'Neill's decision to abandon any effort to keep Robert L. F. Sikes in the Appropriations Subcommittee chair. Had O'Neill tried to enter the controversy he would have faced a humiliating defeat at the hands of a collection of freshmen and sophomores.

Beyond the shifting power, reform is also serving to alter basic patterns of congressional behavior. In the past, a newly elected member from a farming district would seek a seat on the Agriculture Committee; from a city district, a seat on Education and Labor; from a district with military bases, a seat on Armed Services, etc. In these berths, members slowly acquired seniority and expertise in fields that would provide increasing benefits for their constituents. The development of procedural reform, as a separate terrain from which elective capital can be harvested, has provided a new, and quicker, avenue to congressional prominence. It is a guaranteed no-lose issue, risking none of the loss of voter support that advocacy of substantive legislation inevitably produces. No constituent group is against it. In addition, lack of congressional experience functions as a credential instead of a liability. Finally, reform coincides with the growth of elective politics based on the media, and it is one of the most accessible vehicles a junior member can use to get coverage in the home papers. The flood of inserts to the *Congressional Record* and of releases to the press gallery during the debate on the ethics code was equalled in the last session only during the debate on a

congressional pay raise, and on the day of the demise of the B-1 Bomber.

When Gephardt arrived in Congress last year, it was not the leadership who provided him with the most important post in his first term—an assignment that probably will be instrumental in his reelection. Instead, the freshmen caucus made him their reform chairman, a position that will give him the opportunity to try to put an end to the cheap meals, free flowers, lavish athletic facilities, and other side benefits that now go with membership in the House. From a purely political point of view, no freshman could ask for a better assignment, and no speaker could ever give it to a freshman.

With the near-elimination of "machine" districts, the style of campaigns in the past ten years has radically shifted in directions that further weaken the power of the House leadership to bargain for votes. The dominant forces in district politics have become a broad array of issue-oriented interest groups—chambers of commerce, civic-improvement organizations, branches of Common Cause, ethnic social clubs, PTAs, farmers' organizations. What unifies almost all these groups is their insistence that congressional candidates spell out their positions in detail on every conceivable issue. In the 1976 contest in Baltimore's Third Congressional District—where the winner used to be picked by a small handful of clubs and, if he wanted to stay in office, he did as he was told—five candidates issued position papers on everything from juvenile crime to deregulation of natural gas to abortion. The consequence is that each term a growing number of members begin locked into a set of positions: the bartering process characteristic of democratic legislating is ruled out, not only by middle-class constituents suspicious of the process, but also by a set of campaign commitments made well before the reality of the choice in committee or on the floor, and before the potential benefits of compromise are present.

A second major characteristic of current local-interest groups is that they are predominantly middle-class, and the pressure

they apply is not for the creation of new, substantive programs, but for procedural reform or for the elimination and prevention of government initiatives. Common Cause and the League of Women Voters, whose concerns reflect the values and interests of their predominantly upper-middle-class membership, are often working for the reduction of power of the liberal leadership.

Business groups lobby against federal regulation, bills beneficial to labor, increases in the minimum wage. Neighborhood and civic groups, less interested in federal issues than in local government, echo, however, a recurring plaint against their tax burdens. These groups also share a deep distrust of traditional mechanisms in the congressional legislative process: log-rolling to build up majorities, patronage, and the distribution of pork-barrel benefits, the placement of a premium on personal and party loyalty as factors in making legislative decisions.

The increasing shift in balance of pressure on individual House members from the congressional leadership to organized local groups work, in turn, as a pull to the right. In any district containing an economic mix, the more affluent are far more likely to be organized than the poor, and far better equipped to make their position known to their representatives. Business organizations and their lobbying arms are demonstrating, in the current session, the most sophisticated use of constituent pressures, using lists of business people, conservatives, Republicans, and management personnel to create district opposition to consumer-protection, minimum-wage provisions and common situs.

The conflict between the pressures of district groups—to which the younger members are far more sensitive than those who first won election in a different era—and traditional congressional politics was embodied in the drive to oust Representative Robert L. F. Sikes from the Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee chair he had used to increase the value of personal investments. A leader of the anti-

Sikes forces was Leon Panetta, a freshman Democrat from Monterey, California. Ten years ago, the thought of the representative from Panetta's district challenging the chairman of Military Construction would have been inconceivable: the district includes Fort Ord, the Monterey Language School, and the naval postgraduate training school. There is no coherent party structure in the district, and Panetta won largely through his own work and organization. Panetta himself has minimal ties to the Democratic party: he was a Republican civil-rights appointee under the Nixon administration. In a reflection of the changing nature of district politics, Panetta noted after the Sikes defeat, his position was "not only morally right, it was politically right. If that means not returning favors and (not) getting the pork barrel, it is politically right and what my constituents want."

The Panettas and Gephardts of Congress—prototypes of the new generation of members—have changed the rules of the ball game. They argue, with some legitimacy, that the vehicle for the winning of votes, particularly among the younger members, now must be rational persuasion; logic, and not the offer of a job to a backer or the promise of a campaign contribution must prevail. This argument, however, works only for those with constituencies that coincide with the national middle-class majority and do not need exceptional benefits from government. The only way, for example, major revisions of the Food Stamp program were approved by the House was through a major vote-trading arrangement between farm and urban representatives, a process anathema to the constituencies of Panetta and Gephardt. Leading proponents of the use of vote-trading are representatives of minorities who, in an increasingly "rational" Congress, are going to find prospects of winning, or even maintaining, governmental benefits dimming.

Just as important as the changing forces in district politics is the shift in representation that will take place after the 1980 census, a

change demographically foreshadowed by the 46 freshmen Democrats. The first-term members—those elected in '76—are representative of the population changes that will be integral to redistricting before the 1982 election. A solid block of them, 20, are from Sunbelt states—the tier of states extending across the Southern third of the country—which has been experiencing the sharpest population increase—and a majority, 29, represent the range of districts where the largest population shifts, up and down, are taking place: once rural areas now subdivided into suburban population centers; the edges of declining cities in the East and Midwest; well-established white bastions outside the cities that have high percentages of blacks.

These 46 freshmen are, as a block, more conservative on social and economic issues than any other class, a voting pattern that increases in importance with the recognition that these 46 are also a reflection of probable trends after redistricting. Analysis of their votes on the litmus issues that have surfaced in the first months of the 95th Congress shows: while Democrats as a whole backed the common situs bill by a margin of better than 2 to 1—191 to 88—the freshmen democrats gave only lukewarm support, 25 to 17; on a minor consumer-protection bill prohibiting debt-collection agencies from harassment of debtors, Democrats were in favor 158 to 105 while the freshmen among them opposed the measure, 15 to 27; an amendment prohibiting federal funding of Legal Aid-backed desegregation suits was opposed by Democratic members 150 to 101, but supported by the freshmen Democrats, 21 to 20. The pattern extends to proposals of shifting money to social programs, antibusing amendments, minimum-wage provisions and, to a lesser extent, to measures prohibiting federal funding of abortions. The difficulties facing the consumer-protection agency bill and the election-day registration bill are in large part attributable to the lack of support among the first-term Democrats.

In writing about the two most recently elected classes in the House, there has been a strong tendency in the press to lump them

together with an emphasis on their shared "questioning attitude" and "unwillingness to accept the status quo." This vantage point results in a dangerously inadequate perception of Congress: it glorifies the new members' "independence" without recognizing that changed district politics require independence as a prerequisite to election.

More important, the emphasis on shared challenges to tradition fails to recognize the dramatic ideological differences. The 75 Democrats elected in 1974 were by any standard statistical freaks, containing a disproportionate number of men and women with roots outside regular politics, from the peace and antipoverty movements, who used the lever of Watergate to win elections. What makes these Democrats unique is that they are more liberal—in the traditional sense of a commitment to social-welfare legislation, prolabor bills and income redistributing measures—than either their seniors or juniors. As a sample of long-term trends, however, the 46 Democrats elected last year are far more significant. They won election in a year when the remnants of the left-wing politics of the 1960s no longer had the adhesive of Watergate to hold together a dying coalition; the presidential candidates were not, except perhaps in the South, major factors at the congressional levels; geographically, the 46 were elected from districts that are likely to produce most change in the composition of the House after the 1980 census: the Sunbelt tier and suburbia.

The result of these political circumstances is a freshman class of Democrats that votes more conservatively on domestic social issues than any other class in the House. Their conservative votes reflect what might be described, more accurately, as rational representation of middle-class interests. While not insensitive to the needs of and pressures on minorities and the poor, the critical factor for these representatives in the casting of a vote is the protection of the economic and social gains of those who are not in poverty. This style of representation includes a strong commitment to procedural

reform of the House, but, while the 75 Democrats of 1974 blended reform with the basic tenets of liberalism, the freshmen have an entirely different ideological undercurrent. To them, an integral, although largely unstated, element of reform is the curbing of major parts of the basic Democratic majority: demands from blacks, unions, and urban interests for increased spending and protective legislation. This joining of the reform drive with domestic conservatism among the youngest Democrats is probably the major factor in the seemingly exceptional strength demonstrated by the dwindling Republican minority during the 95th Congress.

In the short run, the consequences of the reform-conservatism of the freshman Democrats is already apparent in the opposition facing such bills as consumer protection, election-day registration, and common situs. In the long run, particularly after the growth in suburban and sunbelt representation following the 1980 census, the consequences are likely to prove both more subtle and significant. Still in the formative stages is the beginning of a major dispute over the distribution of funds, pitting the South and Southwest against Northeast and Middle West, and suburb against city. This dispute now takes place in the context of the continuing shift away from discretionary grant programs—urban renewal, model cities—to formula grant programs patterned in part on the principle of revenue-sharing. Discretionary programs have given cities the opportunity to take the litany of evidence of distress—percentages of decayed housing, number of unemployed, loss of small businesses—to federal executive branch agencies and there to corner all appropriations for housing or unemployment programs. More affluent suburban governments were often either out of the running or unwilling to compete for funds requiring that recipients provide housing for the poor.

In 1974, however, 11 of the major urban

programs were consolidated into a formula program—Community Development—in a pattern followed by a number of lesser public-works and unemployment programs. Formulas guaranteed the distribution of money outside city limits to almost every governmental jurisdiction, no matter how affluent. More important, the creation of these formulas gave Congress the authority to determine precisely how the money for each of these programs will be distributed, down to the smallest county in the state. Debates on alternative formulas in the House are not conducted on the basis of need but of computer printouts showing dollar figures for each state, city, suburb, and county for the duration of an appropriation.

Over the past three years, however, the effect has been to shift all the new funds to jurisdictions, largely in the Southeast and South, that had been receiving no money under the old, discretionary system, and to maintain funds for the older cities in the Northeast and Midwest at essentially stagnant levels, despite inflation. Legislation passed in the current session prevented a sharp cutback in the housing-aid levels to the older cities, but it is highly questionable whether existing formulas can survive the shift in the balance of power in the House after the next census.

Although the prospect of redrawn districts is still three elections away, it is a growing force in the thinking of members of the House, particularly younger members who have the least leverage with the state legislatures that set the new district lines. The problem of redistricting is most acute for white members who represent urban districts that have been core bases of liberal support in the past.

In these areas the proportion of whites has been steadily declining, and the typical response has been to create black core districts while forcing white incumbents to compete for a declining number of seats that are being diluted with larger chunks of suburban wards and precincts. Gephardt, for example, noted in an interview that Missouri

will probably lose one of its ten seats. The likely prospect is that his district will be pushed further out of St. Louis to the more conservative south, in a move to preserve the majority black district for the current incumbent, William Clay, in the northern half of St. Louis, and to prevent any court challenge based on discrimination.

The practice of creating black districts, characteristic of most northern cities—including St. Louis, Cleveland, New York, Detroit, Baltimore and Chicago—has cut two ways. It has guaranteed a solid block of black representation in the House but at the same time has served to create almost lily-white districts in the same communities, consequently eliminating from these districts what had been a source of pressure to support traditional Democratic programs.

The almost universal practice has been to effectively place all blacks in a city in one or more districts, depending on the numbers, so that the black voting majority ranges from 55 to 80 percent, and then to establish adjoining white districts with black populations of 2 to 20 percent. The consequence, in the politics of the House, is that the problems associated with central cities are reduced to the problems of the black congressional caucus, a group gaining in sophistication and seniority but

increasingly isolated from many of their white, urban colleagues.

What appears to be happening, if the freshman Democrats do represent a long-term trend, is that, as congressional Republicans move further to the right and decrease in numbers, the vacuum in the center is being filled by Democrats, and that the majority party is itself moving to the right. On this assumption, the probability is that over the next three years the House will progressively recede from its public image as a force for continued deficit-spending and become at least a partial ally of the Carter administration's goal of a balanced budget, despite the grumbling from O'Neill and other House leaders that such a goal does not deserve a first priority from a Democratic administration.

The concept of a balanced budget coincides with the kind of reform impulse characteristic of the new member and of their constituencies, voters who see the placement of ethical restraints on members of Congress as an integral part of a larger constraint on the spending and regulatory practices of government, practices that were until now basic to the Democratic party and to the majorities it won among blacks, unions, and in city wards and precincts. □

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Jim McIntyre
Frank Moore

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

The signed original of the letter was given to Ronna Freiberg for delivery.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: LETTER TO CONG. MATTOX RE CONGRESSIONAL
LIAISON

cc: Hamilton Jordan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
✓	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
✓		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
✓		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON
✓		McINTYRE
		SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	GAMMILL

	KRAFT
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PETTIGREW
	POSTON
	PRESS
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

To Congressman Jim Mattox

I appreciate your thoughtful and constructive memorandum regarding the function of Congressional liaison.

Your suggestions will receive the serious consideration they merit.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

The Honorable Jim Mattox
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

I'll work on this myself-
J

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

JIM MATTOX
5TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

February 27, 1978

COMMITTEES:
BUDGET

BANKING, FINANCE AND URBAN
AFFAIRS

cc: McIntyre
Moore
Quick comment
JC

President Jimmy Carter
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

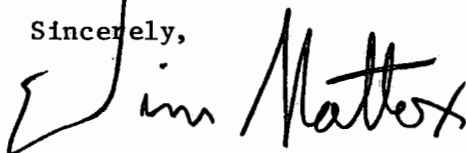
I am submitting the enclosed memo to provide constructive criticism of the congressional liaison function of the White House.

It does not deal with and is not critical of any of your current personnel. It is a description of an organizational mechanism I have seen used several times in the past and could be useful to you.

For the good of your administration and the good of the Democratic Members of Congress, changes must be made.

I hope this memo will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,



Jim Mattox

JM:nh

SEND REPLY TO:

☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1130 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-2231

☐ DISTRICT OFFICE: EARLE CABELL FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM 9C60, 1100 COMMERCE STREET, DALLAS, TEXAS 75242 (214) 749-1771

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

JIM MATTOX
5TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

February 27, 1978

COMMITTEES:
BUDGET
BANKING, FINANCE AND URBAN
AFFAIRS

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: President Jimmy Carter

FROM: Congressman Jim Mattox

SUBJECT: Reorganization of Congressional Liaison Function

Mr. President:

I wish to bring to your immediate attention a serious problem: namely, the lack of an effective and well-organized Congressional liaison effort on the part of the Administration to promote and secure the adoption of its programs. This problem has several dimension, including an apparent lack of understanding of the current role of Congressional leadership and the attitudes of all Members of the House of Representatives. I shall come directly to the point! I respectfully recommend the following:

Recommendation:

1. That all agency Congressional liaison offices be placed under the direct supervision of the White House Congressional liaison staff for purposes of specific assignments ordered by the President to effectuate Administration policies. In practical terms, this means that all agency liaison personnel would report and be responsible directly to the Director (Frank Moore) and his immediate subordinates. Line authority would have to be changed.

All Congressional liaison personnel should meet at least three or four times a week (probably at 8:00 a.m.) with the Director of the White House Congressional liaison to go over issues and matters of concern. This would insure that each agency liaison officer would have a direct line responsibility to the Director and his subordinates.

SEND REPLY TO:

☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1130 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-2231

☐ DISTRICT OFFICE: EARLE CABELL FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM 9C60, 1100 COMMERCE STREET, DALLAS, TEXAS 75242 (214) 749-1771

2. This consolidation would provide the necessary personnel to work systematically to influence and service all Members without any increase in White House staff. Under this organizational plan, it would be possible to divide responsibility and assign on a permanent basis individual liaison persons to a small group of Members, say 15 or 20, who could develop detailed knowledge of the individual Member's needs and aspirations (both Republican and Democrats), understanding of district pressures, and relationships with the top staff aides. Agency Congressional liaison personnel would normally discharge their regular services to all Members and represent their respective agencies, but they would now be required to be constantly on top of major issues and prepared to move on Presidential initiatives when so instructed. The agency head should have second call on their services -- not first. This fact must be made clear. All liaison personnel would report specific agency problems or anticipated problems to the White House staff. A team approach is what I have in mind, with a captain in charge of the overall operation, and the four existing Congressional liaisons as lieutenants.
3. In order to facilitate this recommendation, adequate support personnel (secretaries), office space, and message centers must be provided at or near the Capitol. Phone calls must be returned and Members and their staff requirements need to be met promptly. Obviously, many other details would have to be worked out to insure individual contact, but it should be noted that each Member's office should be called on at least once per week, even if just for a friendly hello. In this way, it would be at least possible, to provide the discipline, persuasion, and accurate vote counting that is lacking today. It would also provide the basis for an effective reward and penalty system for those Members who are either cooperative or uncooperative.
4. This system will work only if the head of Congressional liaison really cracks the whip and imposes discipline on the agency liaison personnel. The agency personnel must

Page 3
Memorandum
President Jimmy Carter
February 27, 1978

not continue the practice of mainly lobbying for the individual agency programs and telling the Member that it does not really matter to the agency liaison how the Member votes on other matters.

My reasons for the necessity of this reorganization approach are as follows (and they are not mutually exclusive):

1. The role of Congressional Leadership and Committee Chairmen has changed dramatically for both Democrats and Republicans, as indeed it should. This is the age of independence and individuality; voters expect their representatives to respond to them, not play games with the Leadership. The Leadership in the House has been fair and hard-working, but they need more help from the Administration.

We as Democrats, in order to act and vote together, must design an elaborate organization and not rely on a small group to influence behavior, particularly on specific votes.

The Consumer Protection Agency Bill, in my opinion, is a classic example of the inadequacy of both White House liaison and Congressional Leadership's current capability. This bill could have been passed, I believe, with continuous effective communication with all Members, instead of resorting to haphazard eleventh hour appeals.

In brief, it's important to say the President and the Speaker and Majority Leader are all for this or that -- which is about all the Whip System does -- but it's not enough. We begin there, rather than making it the terminal point in the effort.

2. Closely related to point one is that the old styles of leadership are outmoded. President Johnson practiced personal persuasion, buttressed by the environmental circumstances under which he took office and his vast experience on Capitol Hill.

Page 4

Memorandum

President Jimmy Carter

February 27, 1978

President Ford practiced veto or threat of veto politics to gain Democratic support in the Congress and worked closely only with Republican Members.

A broader, more organized approach is needed, given the changes that have occurred in the views of voters and obviously individual Members.

3. My experience in the state legislature convinces me that a coordinated, permanent contact system, based on friendship can answer the needs of the individual Members of Congress and pass tough, controversial bills.
4. The Administration should encourage the House Leadership to reform the Whip System. The Whip System must be made up of Members that follow the Democratic line most of the time and of Members that will actually do the lobbying jobs that the system is supposed to do. The present system does not even give accurate counts.

In conclusion, I stress the need to broaden the scope of individual contact. What I've suggested does not involve hiring any new people. I submit this in the hope it will be reviewed as a constructive suggestion from one of your strongest supporters.

Jim Mattox

1127

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MR. PRESIDENT:

I strongly feel that you should not make any comments on the coal strike at this signing ceremony.

The Labor Department joins me in this feeling.

Stu Eizenstat

28 Feb 78

PARTICIPANTS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 28, 1978

BILL SIGNING

H.R. 4544 - BLACK LUNG

Wednesday, March 1, 1978

9:30 a.m.

State Dining Room

From: Frank Moore *F.M.*

I. PRESS PLAN

Full Press Coverage

II. TALKING POINTS

Being prepared by Stu Eizenstat

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Secretary Marshall

Senate

Senator Byrd
Senator Williams
Senator Randolph
Senator Kennedy
Senator Hathaway
Senator Ford
Senator Huddleston
Senator Javits
Senator Stafford
Senator Hayakawa

Senate Committee Staff

Steve Paradise
Mike Goldberg
Don Zimmerman
Phil McGance

House

Cong. Ike Andrews
Cong. Bevill

Cong. Biaggi
Cong. Blouin
Cong. Buchanan
Cong. Phil Burton
Cong. Cornwell
Cong. Dent
Cong. Duncan
Cong. Edwards (Mickey)
Cong. Ertel
Cong. Evans
Cong. Flood
Cong. William Ford
Cong. Heftel
Cong. Jeffords
Cong. Kildee
Cong. LeFante
Cong. G. Miller
Cong. Mottl
Cong. Austin Murphy
Cong. Murtha
Cong. Perkins
Cong. Pettis
Cong. Pressler
Cong. Quillen
Cong. Rayhall
Cong. Simon
Cong. Staggers
Cong. Ullman
Cong. Wampler
Cong. Sarasin
Cong. Shuster
Cong. Thompson
Cong. Vanik

House Committee Staff

Edmond Nolen
Hugh Duffy
Hartwell Reed
Donald Baker
Judy Wagner

Department of Labor

Nik Edes
Donald Elisburg
Undersecretary Robert Brown
June Patron
Adrienne Fields
Ralph Hartman

Other

Wayne Horvitz, Director, Federal Mediation and Conciliation
Service

Arnold Miller, UMW

Sam Church, UMW

Harrison Combs, UMW

Willard Esselstyn, UMW

John Kelly, UMW

Al Danel, UMW (COMAC - Coal Miners Action Council)

Dr. Lorrin Kerr, UMW

Donald Bryant, President, West Virginia Black Lung Association

Anice Floyd, West Virginia Black Lung Widows Association

Helen Powell, Treasurer, West Virginia Black Lung Association

Bill Worthington, President, Kentucky Black Lung Association

Bill Bowman, Virginia Black Lung Association

James Hackworth, Virginia Black Lung Association

Perry Davis, Virginia Black Lung Association

Helen Phipps, Virginia Miner's Wives and Widows Association

Eva Catron, Virginia Miner's Wives and Widows Association

Gail Falk, Attorney, Appalachian Research and Defense Fund

Lynn Sullivan, miner

Richard Roberts, miner

Brian Murphy, miner and son of Cong. Austin Murphy

Harry Huge, Attorney

TALKING POINTS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JIM FALLOWS, ACHSAH NESMITH *JL* *ACH*

SUBJECT: Black Lung Signing Remarks

One of the first things a young Naval officer learns is that a ship is responsible for its wake. A nation that depends upon coal to supply much of its energy, and an industry that sends men down into the mines to extract that coal, must also be responsible for the long-term effects that coal mining has on the miners.

Mining is dirty, dangerous, demanding work, and those who do it are a fiercely independent group. Black lung disease has for a long time been a part of life and death for many miners. Last year I signed the Mine Safety and Health Amendments Act of 1977, which requires more vigilant controls of coal dust levels in coal mines, to help prevent black lung disease. On Feb. 10 I signed a bill setting up a new trust fund, to be supported by an excise tax on coal, to pay for black lung benefits. Today I am signing the Black Lung Benefits Act of 1977, which strengthens the administration of that program. With its signing, the companion revenue bill goes into effect.

Taken together, these three acts constitute a comprehensive federal effort to reduce the human and social costs of our growing dependence on coal.

The benefits act I am signing today removes a number of inequities which have prevented claimants from getting the benefits they were entitled to receive. This bill simplifies the claim filing process and expands the eligibility to include not only lung disfunction, but other respiratory and pulmonary impairment. It removes several unnecessarily strict time limitations which had prevented a large number of claims from being reviewed on their merits. This bill makes allowance for the unique problems that survivors have had in documenting their claims, and allows the Labor Department to set fair standards of eligibility, making use of the latest medical developments.

Many members of the Congress have worked hard for this and the companion revenue bill, but I want to especially thank Congressman Perkins, Thompson and Ullmann, and Senators Randolph, Byrd, Williams and Long for securing the passage of these reforms.

We must increase coal production to meet our future energy needs, but that increase must not be accomplished through the suffering of coal miners and their families.

One final point. In a few days, as you know, the coal miners will vote on ratification of the tentative agreement reached between their bargaining council and negotiators for the

Bituminous Coal Operators Association. I hope that all those who will be deciding on this pact will give it full and fair consideration. I am confident that the miners will make the right decisions for themselves and their families, as well as for the country.

#

1126
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 1, 1978

Jim Fallows

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Stu Eizenstat
Jody Powell

RE: CIVIL SERVICE SPEECH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

<input type="checkbox"/>	FOR STAFFING
<input type="checkbox"/>	FOR INFORMATION
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
<input type="checkbox"/>	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
<input type="checkbox"/>	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MONDALE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	COSTANZA
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	EIZENSTAT
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JORDAN
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	LIPSHUTZ
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	POWELL
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WATSON
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McINTYRE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SCHULTZE

<input type="checkbox"/>	ENROLLED BILL
<input type="checkbox"/>	AGENCY REPORT
<input type="checkbox"/>	CAB DECISION
<input type="checkbox"/>	EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day	

<input type="checkbox"/>	ARAGON
<input type="checkbox"/>	BOURNE
<input type="checkbox"/>	BRZEZINSKI
<input type="checkbox"/>	BUTLER
<input type="checkbox"/>	CARP
<input type="checkbox"/>	H. CARTER
<input type="checkbox"/>	CLOUGH
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FALLOWS
<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRST LADY
<input type="checkbox"/>	HARDEN
<input type="checkbox"/>	HUTCHESON
<input type="checkbox"/>	JAGODA
<input type="checkbox"/>	GAMMILL

<input type="checkbox"/>	KRAFT
<input type="checkbox"/>	LINDER
<input type="checkbox"/>	MITCHELL
<input type="checkbox"/>	MOE
<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSON
<input type="checkbox"/>	PETTIGREW
<input type="checkbox"/>	POSTON
<input type="checkbox"/>	PRESS
<input type="checkbox"/>	SCHLESINGER
<input type="checkbox"/>	SCHNEIDERS
<input type="checkbox"/>	STRAUSS
<input type="checkbox"/>	VOORDE
<input type="checkbox"/>	WARREN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 27, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JIM FALLOWS, GRIFFIN SMITH

SUBJECT: Civil Service Speech

Here is the draft of the Civil Service speech. We've heavily cut an earlier draft to 9 pages.

It reflects the comments and suggestions of the domestic policy staff, the reorganization project staff, OMB, Civil Service, and the Veterans' Administration.

The reorganization and domestic policy people generally want all uncomplimentary references to the bureaucracy toned down. We have done that to some extent, but since the shortcomings of the bureaucracy are the very reason Civil Service needs reforming, we feel it is important for you to be frank about what is wrong with it.

Some of them also feel you should not draw attention to what the Plan will do for affirmative action (p. 8) because this may raise a flag for critics.

Not all the suggestions could be incorporated into this draft. Scotty Campbell has proposed two additions -- one near the beginning and the other a new conclusion. These are attached.

Chairman Campbell also suggests the top half of p. 9 be replaced by the following:

We want to strengthen the ability of managers to manage. We want to inspire managers and supervisors to higher performance. We want to make it simpler and easier to require good performance, and to either improve performance or remove those who cannot or will not improve.

We felt, on the contrary, that it was important for you to address the inevitable criticisms directly and give convincing answers to them. Our actual language may need more work, but we feel it takes the right tack.

*Reduced competence &
dedication
Prevent cheating of the
American taxpayer
Clear assignment of
responsibility & authority
Govt more effective
Deliberate incompetence
& insubordination give
System (govt) a bad name.*

Max Cleland would like to delete the "inflammatory" references to "too many veterans at the head of the line" (p. 7) and "giving veterans less of an edge." (p. 9) He would also like for you to mention some of the other, more positive, things we are doing for vets, such as expanding the VRA authority for Viet Nam veterans and helping the disabled. We feel the references should be retained because they are factual and help build the convincing case you need to justify the actions you are taking. (Groups that will be affected by cuts in the veterans preference are going to oppose your action regardless of what you say; the rest of the public will be more likely to approve your action if you make clear why it is needed).

As far as other programs to help veterans are concerned, we feel the speech adequately demonstrates that you have approached civil service reform with a determination to treat veterans fairly; since the focus of this brief speech is your Civil Service reform there is no need to bring up other things.

cc: ALAN CAMPBELL
MAX CLELAND
STU EIZENSTAT
HAMILTON JORDAN
SI LAZARUS
RICHARD PETTIGREW
JODY POWELL
STEVE SIMMONS
HARRISON WELLFORD
HOWARD MESSNER

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Frank Moore

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: PHONE CALL TO SENATOR MUSKIE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
✓	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
✓		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON
		McINTYRE
		SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	GAMMILL

	KRAFT
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PETTIGREW
	POSTON
	PRESS
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Indian claims
Gov (→ Sen) AG (→ Gov)
will go for total Fed
payoff.*

February 28, 1978

TO:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BOB BECKEL *Bob*
BILL SMITH *FM.*

SUBJECT:

Phone call to Senator Muskie

Today Senator Muskie gave a ringing speech in support of the economic arrangements in the Panama Canal treaty. Specifically he emphasized the accuracy of your February 1 statement that any payments to Panama would not require tax dollars and the absurdity of the effort by opponents to label your speech as misleading. Muskie further indicated that the overall cost of implementing the treaties will be approximately \$700 million over the next 21 years and that this was an eminently fair price to pay for the economic advantages we have gained for use of the Canal.

As the treaty debate progresses, Muskie will be crucial on all economic matters. We recommend, therefore, that you thank him for his support in order to insure that it continues.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Landon Butler

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

MEANY'S COMMENTS ON ADMINISTRATION
POLICY AND LABOR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
✓	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
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	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
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	VOORDE
	WARREN

MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Landon
J

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LONDON BUTLER *ad*
DATE: FEBRUARY 28, 1978
SUBJECT: MR. MEANY'S COMMENTS

For some months now, Lane Kirkland, Tom Donahue, Sol Chaikin, Glenn Watts, and other top-level AFL-CIO leaders have been telling us in private that the Carter Administration is doing a good job struggling with frustrating and intractable problems. At the same time, however, there is a great deal of simplistic and cynical public criticism of you from mid-level union leadership: from COPE officers, State Federation officers, and some lesser-known Executive Council members.

This mid-level criticism is concerned with form, not substance. The litany of the critics is familiar: the President didn't attend the December Convention, the Carter people don't know anything about politics, there were no Carter Administration people at the Bal Harbor meeting, etc.

There has been no significant substantive disagreement between the Administration and the AFL-CIO since the minimum wage issue was resolved. Further, the formal position papers which have been issued in the last two weeks from the Bal Harbor meeting have been more supportive than we expected on such major Administration programs as tax reform and civil service reorganization.

In short, Mr. Meany's comments were a cheap shot: he was playing to the crowd. He knew exactly what he was doing: although the AFL-CIO backs your programs, he finds it politically convenient to take a swipe at you personally.

I don't think a public response is called for: Jody has received no questions about Mr. Meany's attack, and I don't think we should bring it up. Jody will have an answer for you in case you receive a question at your press conference Thursday.

ok - do so
Privately, however, those Administration officials who work with labor -- the Vice President, Stu, Frank, Ray, Strauss, etc. -- should let their labor contacts know that we are tired of their political cowardice, and that we expect them to support you publicly, not just privately. The Vice President agrees with this approach: if you approve, I will discuss the matter with him further, and make sure that our message gets across to the AFL-CIO.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Frank Moore

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson
RECEPTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF THE
HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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<input type="checkbox"/>	WARREN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

Good
J

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE *F.M./pd.*

Some time ago, I discussed with you the possibility of having a series of receptions for Members of the House so that they could become better acquainted with your senior staff.

We are hosting the first of these receptions tonight at the Blair House from 7:00 - 9:00 p.m. The Speaker will attend. Evan Dobelle and the staff here at the White House who have been assisting me with the arrangements have been extremely helpful and it looks like this first reception will be a success.

This is just FYI, no action required. I'll give you a report on the reception when I see you tomorrow morning.

9:00 AM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

MEETING WITH REP. LEE HAMILTON (D-9-Ind.)

Wednesday, March 1, 1978

9:00 a.m. (15 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Frank Moore *F.M./BR*

I. PURPOSE

To discuss U.S. foreign affairs policy with emphasis on the Middle East arms package.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

Background: Rep. Hamilton has served in the House since 1964. (His wife's name is Nancy). He has a 78.1% rating in support of administration-sponsored legislation.

Rep. Hamilton is Chairman of the House International Relations (HIRC) subcommittee which deals with Europe and the Middle East. He has established credentials with his colleagues as being evenhanded and able to strike a bargain between contending forces within the Committee. He also is a member of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. If the situation arises, you might explore with Hamilton the possibility of him negotiating the Korean troop withdrawal/ethics problem in the House.

Middle East Arms Package: Rep. Hamilton has a consistent record of supporting U.S. arms restraint, and two years ago he sponsored legislation to impose a ceiling on U.S. arms exports. Nonetheless, he has reluctantly agreed to support our arms sale package to the Middle East, though he remains troubled by its size and has begun to search for an accommodation with package opponents in the House. He has, for example, mentioned reducing the number of F-15s or limiting their munitions delivering capabilities.

Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean: Rep. Hamilton is anxious to know where the Administration is heading with respect to Greece and Turkey. He is aware that Congressman Brademas and Senator Sarbanes are exercising pressure to maintain the arms embargo on Turkey and prevent early congressional action on the Turkish Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA). He is favorably disposed toward the Turkish DCA, and is one of eighteen Congressmen on the HIRC who recently joined Chairman Zablocki in sending a letter to Secretary Vance indicating his willingness to give sympathetic consideration to the Greek and Turkish DCAs "providing the President gives his unequivocal support to such action". Rep. Hamilton wants to be helpful on this issue, and will rally support for whatever action you wish to take, though he clearly does not relish a battle with the Greek interest group in Congress in an election year. He will be seeing Department of State Counselor, Matt Nimetz, later in the day on March 1 to go over the results of Nimetz's recent trip to Turkey and reach agreement on a schedule for testimony to his sub-committee on Greek and Turkish aid levels for FY 1979. We expect that testimony will take place sometime around mid-March, by which time an Administration decision on the Turkish DCA will be needed.

Participants: The President, Rep. Hamilton, Frank Moore, and Bill Cable.

Press Plan: White House Photographer.

III. TALKING POINTS

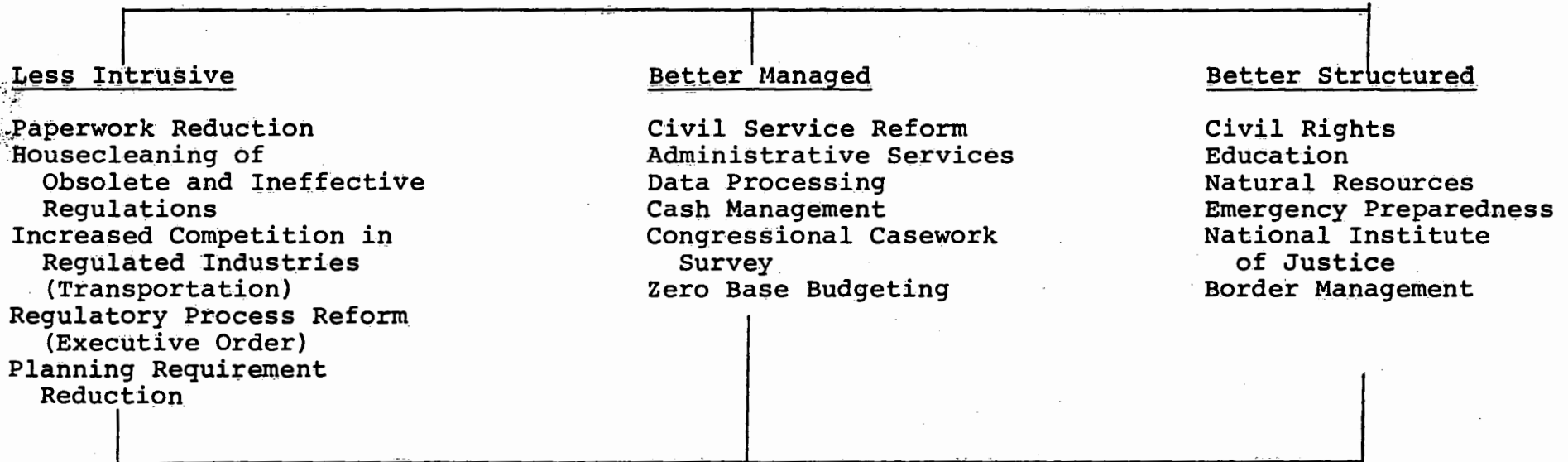
1. Express your appreciation for Hamilton's support on the Middle East arms issue and seek his advice on how best to handle the debate over the next two months.
2. Hamilton's support for the arms package will be critical to action in the HIRC. You should discourage him from pursuing his search for a compromise, by explaining the expectations of the three governments involved and the balanced nature of the package the Administration has put together.
3. Regarding Greece/Turkey: you should indicate to Rep. Hamilton the Administration's strong interest in restoring close ties with Turkey, explain that a decision on the Turkish DCA will be made shortly.
4. Pledge to consult closely with Rep. Hamilton on tactics once the decision is taken.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

C
1

PRESIDENT'S REORGANIZATION PROJECT OVERVIEW

Goal: To Make Government Work Better



Anticipated Results

- Improved service delivery
- Savings
- Fewer delays
- Reduced hidden cost of
complying with rules
and regulations
- More predictable policymaking
- Rewrite existing rules in plain
and simple English

Electronic Copy Made
for Presentation Purposes

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

C
1

TO: FRANK

FROM: DAN

YOU MAY WANT TO RECOGNIZE THE SENATORS FROM COAL-PRODUCING STATES WHO ARE AT THE CEREMONY, PARTICULARLY RANDOLPH AND HUDDLESTON, BOTH OF WHOM ARE UP FOR REELECTION THIS YEAR.

YOU SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THIS BILL REPRESENTS A BI-PARTISAN EFFORT INVOLVING SENATORS WHOSE STATES HAVE LITTLE IF ANY COAL PRODUCTION, RECOGNIZING SEN. WILLIAMS, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE, AND SENATORS JAVITS AND STAFFORD. IF YOU CALL ON SENATORS FOR REMARKS, WE SUGGEST THAT YOU RECOGNIZE SENATOR BYRD, WILLIAMS, RANDOLPH (WHO WAS PARTICULARLY ACTIVE) AND SENATOR JAVITS.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Jim McIntyre

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for your information. The signed original has been given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Bob Linder

RE: APPROPRIATION AUTHORIZATION
BILL FOR ARMS CONTROL AND DIS-
ARMAMENT AGENCY.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day	

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UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

February 27, 1978

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed for your approval and transmittal to the Congress is a draft bill to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act to extend the authorization for appropriations for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The Agency's current authorization expires on September 30, 1978. The proposed legislation would authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1979 of \$16,395,000 (plus such additional amounts as may be necessary for increases in salary, pay, retirement, other employee benefits authorized by law and other nondiscretionary costs).


The funds to be authorized by this legislation will be devoted primarily to the anticipated third phase of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks with the Soviets, negotiations for the development of a comprehensive nuclear test ban, work on techniques and agreements to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and the spread of nuclear weapons material through the nuclear fuel cycle, exploration of new possibilities in the limitation of conventional weapons, and work on other negotiations as may arise from the study groups agreed to with the Soviet Union in Moscow last spring.

In addition, support for other arms control activities, including those at the United Nations,

The President
The White House

the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, and other multilateral fora, as well as supporting research for all of these activities, will also be funded under this authorization. The early enactment of this legislation is essential to permit Congressional consideration of the Agency's 1979 budget.

Sincerely,


Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr.
Acting

Enclosure:

Draft Amendment to the Arms Control
and Disarmament Act

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I transmit herewith for consideration of the Congress proposed legislation to extend the appropriation authorization for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, together with a letter from the Acting Director of the Agency in support of this legislation.

Stopping the arms race, both the nuclear arms race and the spread of increasingly more advanced technology in non-nuclear arms, may well be the single most important task we must accomplish to ensure national security and the survival of mankind. The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency plays a very important part in accomplishing this goal.

Through the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, in which it has the leading role, the Agency is engaged in preventing a nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union. And at the Comprehensive Test Ban Talks, the Agency is working to control the spread of nuclear weapons through measures that will inhibit their further development. The Agency is also involved in researching techniques for preventing the unintended spread of nuclear weapon materials through the nuclear fuel cycle and in controlling the transfer of conventional weapons and advanced technology.

Additionally, the Agency engages in research which supports on-going arms control negotiations and explores possibilities for further progress and new initiatives in arms control.

The Honorable
Walter F. Mondale
President of the Senate

Current authorization and appropriations for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency expire September 30, 1978. I am transmitting the attached draft bill in order that the Congress may begin its consideration of future authorizing legislation for the Agency. I urge the early enactment of this legislation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of a horizontal line that serves as a baseline for the signature.

Enclosures:

1. draft bill
2. letter from the Acting Director, ACDA

A BILL

To amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to extend the authorization for appropriations.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
Section 49(a) (22 U.S.C. 2589(a)) of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended is further amended by deleting "and" at the end of subparagraph (1) and adding the following new subparagraphs at the end of subparagraph (2):

"(3) for fiscal year 1979, the sum of \$16,395,000 (and such additional amounts as may be necessary for increases in salary, pay, retirement, other employee benefits authorized by law, and other nondiscretionary costs); and

"(4) for fiscal year 1980 such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purpose of this Act;".

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Frank Moore

The attached was returned in the
President's outbox and is forwarded
to you for delivery.

Rick Hutcheson

LETTER TO MCINTYRE RE SPEECH ON TREATIES

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
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	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
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✓		MOORE - <i>to be hired</i>
		POWELL
		WATSON
		McINTYRE
		SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER

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	PETTIGREW
	POSTON
	PRESS
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Frank -
I wrote him.
Have note
delivered
J*

CONGRESSIONAL TELEPHONE CALL

TO: SEN. THOMAS McINTYRE (D-N.H.)

DATE: As soon as possible.

RECOMMENDED BY: Frank Moore *FM.*

PURPOSE: To thank Sen. McIntyre for the speech
he made today on Panama.
(NOTE: The text of Sen. McIntyre's
speech is on your desk).

DATE OF SUBMISSION: March 1, 1978



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3-1-78

To Senator Tom Mc Intyre

I have just read your
speech about the Panama
Canal treaties and about the
"New Right". I admire very
much your wisdom and
courage.

Your friend,

Jimmy Carter

WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

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resume	Albert H. Rusher , 2pp.	n.d.	C

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- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Hamilton Jordan

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE US
NAVAL ACADEMY

cc: Jim Gammill

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

~~THE~~ PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *H.J.*
SUBJECT: Board of Visitors to the United
States Naval Academy (PA)

The Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy meets annually to inquire into the morale and discipline, the curriculum, instruction, physical equipment, fiscal affairs, academic methods and other matters relating to the Academy.

The Board of Visitors is made up of nine members of Congress and six members are appointed by you and serve three-year terms.

There are presently two vacancies on the Board. We recommend the appointment of:

Mary Ellen Hanley (Washington): Senior Partner with the law firm of Karr, Tuttle, Kock, Campbell, Mawer & Morrow of Seattle, Washington; served as 1st Lieutenant, U.S. Marine Corps, 1951-54, U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, 1954-56; presently National Vice Commandant, Northwest Division Marine Corps League; member of the American Bar Association Committee on Legal Assistance to Military Personnel.

Albert H. Rusher (Arkansas): President, Bank of Brinkley. Graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, 1946. Served in organized Naval Reserve, 1949-69.

-2-

Secretary of the Navy Claytor concurs in their appointment.

RECOMMENDATION:

Appoint Mary Ellen Hanley and Albert H. Rusher to the Board of Visitors, United States Naval Academy.

✓ approve

 disapprove

A handwritten signature, possibly reading "A. H. Rusher", is written in the lower right portion of the page.

TRANSFER SHEET

Jimmy Carter Library

COLLECTION: Carter Presidential Papers-Staff Offices, Office
of Staff Sec.-Pres. Handwriting File

Acc. No.: 80-1

The following material was withdrawn from this segment of the collection and transferred to the xx Audiovisual Collection Museum Collection Book Collection
 Other (Specify:)

DESCRIPTION:

2 1/2" X 3 1/2" Resume photo of Ms. Mary Ellen Hanley, w/attached resume sheet

Series: Office of Staff Sec.-Pres. Handwriting File

Box No.: Box 75

File Folder Title: 3/1/78

Transferred by: KJS

Date of Transfer: 5/10/90

RESUME OF

MARY ELLEN HANLEY

ADDRESSES:

Office: 2600 Seattle-First National
Bank Building
Seattle, Washington 98154

Home: 5422-39th Avenue West
Seattle, Washington 98199

PERSONAL:

Born: April 5, 1929
Foxborough, Massachusetts

Married: To Commander Robert T. Hanley,
USN (Retired)

Children: Timothy R. Hanley, born
July 30, 1956
Midshipman, First Class
U.S. Naval Academy

Mary Katherine Hanley, born
June 15, 1961, Student,
Queen Anne High School
Seattle, Washington

Degrees: B.S. in Physics, cum laude,
with high honors in physics,
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island, 1951

Juris Doctor
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington, 1958



EMPLOYMENT AND PROFESSIONAL HISTORY:

2nd Lieutenant and 1st Lieutenant, United States Marine
Corps, 1951-1954

1st Lieutenant, United States Marine Corps Reserve, 1954-1956;
honorably discharged under then existing regulations due to
birth of son.

Associate, Junior Partner and currently Senior Partner in
Karr, Tuttle, Koch, Campbell, Mawer & Morrow, Attorneys at

Law, 1963 to present. Principal areas of legal practice include construction law, negotiable instruments, realization on personal property security interests, deeds of trust and mortgage foreclosures; corporate law and anti-trust law.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:

Member: Order of the Coif, legal fraternity
 American Bar Association
 American Bar Association, Standing Committee
 on Legal Assistance to Military Personnel
 American Bar Association, Corporate,
 Business and Banking Law Section
 Washington State Bar Association
 Washington State Bar Association Committee on
 Legal Aid to Armed Forces
 Seattle-King County Bar Association

MILITARY-RELATED ORGANIZATIONS:

 National Vice Commandant, Northwest Division,
 Marine Corps League, 1971 to present.
 Member of Board of Directors and Secretary of
 United States Marines Youth Foundation, Inc.
 Member of Board of Directors, Seattle Council,
 Navy League
 Member of Evergreen Council, Women Marines
 Association and of the By-Laws Committee of
 the Women Marines Association
 Member of Marine Corps Reserve Officers'
 Association
 Member of American Legion, Lake Washington
 Post No. 124
 Member of Marines Memorial Club

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:

 Member of Board of Directors of Rainier
 Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution,
 Inc.
 Member of Board of Directors and Secretary of
 United Way of King County

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NAVAL ACADEMY, BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE UNITED STATES

Independent

AUTHORITY: 10 U.S.C. 6968, as of August 31, 1956

METHOD: Appointed by the President

MEMBERS: SIX

TERM: THREE years. (Two members to be appointed
each year before December 31st)

Vacancies to be filled for the unexpired
portion of the term for which predecessor was
appointed.

SALARY: Not more than \$5 per day and to be reimbursed
for actual expenses of travel while performing
duties as a member of the Board.

PURPOSE: The Board shall inquire into the morale and discipline
the curriculum, instruction, physical equipment, fiscal
affairs, academic methods, and other matters relating
TO THE Academy which the Board decides to consider.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

STU EIZENSTAT
BETH ABRAWOWITZ

SUBJECT:

Reply to Senator Hayakawa's
Letter

I have attached for your information the reply to Senator Hayakawa's letter of February 10, 1978 in which he describes his legislation to create a national commission on testing and authorizes federal test development and remedial education programs. The reply sent over my signature restates your concern for basic skills and student performance. It also outlines recent actions by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and the Director of the National Science Foundation to increase research on testing, and compensatory education legislation with new discretionary authority for testing programs involving parents.

Senator Hayakawa's bill raises several critical policy issues: (a) whether the federal government should create a formal Commission on Tests (such a Commission has been recommended by the National Urban League and the National Urban Coalition as well as by Senator Pell); (b) whether the federal government should actually develop tests (such a position would place the federal government in direct competition with the private testing industry); and (c) the precise role the federal government should take in establishing performance standards in the basic skills (such a position must emphasize the primacy of the state and local role, as well as guard against establishing a national curriculum.)

In response to the Senator's request for a position on his bill, my reply indicates that we have asked HEW and OMB to review his proposal. When that review is complete, the issues will be presented to you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Hayakawa:

The President has asked that I respond to your letter of February 10, 1978 in which you describe your legislation for voluntary national standards. According to the outline, the bill would establish a national commission to develop voluntary scholastic standards and test items. It also authorizes the federal government to assist school systems in developing remedial education programs.

The President as you know is very interested in basic skills and student performance. The National Conference on Achievement Testing being held this week is but one of several recent efforts by the Administration to focus greater attention on this issue. Increased federal support for research on tests is being done through cooperative efforts of the Secretary of HEW and the Director of the National Science Foundation. In addition, the Administration's legislative proposals include expanded compensatory education programs based on identification of educationally disadvantaged children, and new discretionary authority for achievement testing programs which may involve parents.

I have asked the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Management and Budget to review this bill as promptly as possible so that we can provide you with an official position in the near future.

Very truly yours,

Stuart E. Eizenstat
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs and Policy

The Honorable S.I. Hayakawa
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

1125

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 1, 1978

The First Lady

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for your
information.

Rick Hutcheson

MCINTYRE STATEMENT - VOTE TO
RATIFY PANAMA CANAL TREATIES

FROM THE OFFICE OF U.S. SENATOR
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE (D-N.H.)
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

ADVANCE FOR 6 A.M., WEDNESDAY,
MARCH 1, 1978

Floor statement by U.S. Senator Thomas J. McIntyre (D-N.H.)

THE CANAL TREATIES, THE NEW RIGHT, AND THE POLITICS OF THREAT AND VENGEANCE

Mr. President, despite the threats of political reprisal from the radical right, I intend to vote to ratify the proposed Panama Canal treaties.

After six months of hard study, I have concluded that on balance the new treaties are the surest means of keeping the canal open, neutral and accessible to our use...and are in keeping with our historical commitment to deal fairly and justly with lesser powers.

But no instrument forged by man is perfect and few issues black and white. So I must respect the judgment of those here ^{in this country} and in New Hampshire who have given the treaties the same intense and objective scrutiny I have given them, yet -- in equally clear conscience -- cannot support ratification.

Today, Mr. President, I want to say a few words about how I reached my decision on the treaties. After that, I intend to deliver a full expression of my views on how this issue has been politicized and exploited.

As to the treaties themselves, I promised the people of New Hampshire early last fall that I would neither rush -- nor be stampeded -- into superficial judgment.

I have kept my word. I made it a point to study the history of the canal, to study the provisions of the original treaty and of the new documents, to consult with those whose judgment I respect, and to ask the hardest questions I could put to those who witnessed for or against ratification in the hearings conducted by the Committee on Armed Services.

I must say that there was never any real question in my mind about the need to modernize our treaty relationship with Panama, Mr. President. That need is as evident to most of us -- including many who oppose the new treaties -- as it has been to the last four Administrations.

Nor did I agonize over the question of sovereignty. As William Buckley put it: "Even if we had in our hand a record that showed that every Panamanian in 1903 had voted to grant the U.S. in perpetuity the rights we have enjoyed in that area, still there is the shifting perspective between what was permissible and even welcome in 1903, and what is permissible and welcome in 1977."

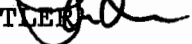
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LONDON BUTLER 
DATE: MARCH 1, 1978
SUBJECT: COAL STRIKE PROGRESS REPORT

The news from the miners today is generally good:

- An informal telephone poll taken by District 17 - generally considered to be the toughest of the UMW districts - found members in favor of the contract 3-1.
- Bargaining Council members who are campaigning for the contract report back that the climate is generally favorable.
- Harry Patrick, one of Miller's chief opponents in the campaign last year, endorsed the contract yesterday, and his endorsement ran over the AP and UPI wires.

Ray is in constant touch with the Congressional delegations and Governors of the coal states. He is making sure that the miners understand that they will not receive a better deal if government action is required. In addition, UAW and AFL-CIO officers are helping us make sure that the miners understand that a Taft-Hartley injunction would result in the loss of food stamps and unemployment benefits.

Finally, the UMW ratification campaign is in full swing: radio and television spots have begun, and meetings with the miners are taking place on schedule.

March 1, 1978

To Terry Turner

Thank you for the thoughtful invitation to visit
your family the next time we are in Rhode Island.

I appreciate your expression of friendship and
support.

Sincerely,

JIMMY CARLE

Mr. Terry Turner
2 North Candy Court
Smithfield, Rhode Island 02917

✓cc: with copy of incoming to Scheduling *sent*

JC/mf/jmc/jfc

60 *you invitation to visit his family
next time they are in Rhode Island*

7803031835

Susan
"the"
J

February 24, 1978

my
President Jimmy Carter;

Please accept my invitation to come to my home and stay with my family any time at your convenience, as you have done with other average, middle-class American families in the great states of Maine and Massachusetts.

We believe that your continuous efforts to maintain contact and communication with typical Americans reflect your deep sincerity in making your Presidency a Presidency of the common man and his basic goodness, dignity and integrity.

Sincerely,
Jerry Turner
2 North Candy Court
Smithfield, R.I. 02917
(401) 231-3154

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2/24/78

joyce--

just a brief, 2-3 line

thank you (presidential)...

(see president's note/comment)

thanks -- susan

1051

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1978

Zbig Brzezinski
Frank Moore

The attached was returned in the President's outbox and is forwarded to you for your information.

The signed original of the 35 letters have been given to Ronna Freiberg in Congressional Liaison for delivery.

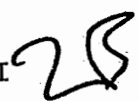
Rick Hutcheson

RE: CONGRESSIONAL LETTER RE GRUMMAN
F-14 PROCUREMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 25, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI 
SUBJECT: Congressional Letter re Grumman
F-14 Procurement

Thirty-five Congressmen have written you a letter (Tab B) asking you to carefully consider Congressional efforts to add twelve F-14s to the FY 79 budget.

They base their request primarily on the claim that the F-14 is the only aircraft that can counter the Soviet Backfire and the MIG 25. They also mention the fact that the currently proposed buy will mean the loss of several thousand jobs in New York.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you authorize us to reply to all the Congressmen with the letter at Tab A.

Jim Fallows concurs with this letter.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 28, 1978

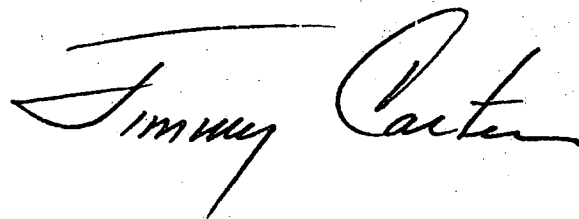
To Congressman Thomas Downey

I understand your interest in the F-14 issue. As you probably know, it was debated at some length in the course of my review of the FY 79 budget. Those debates convinced me that a combination of F-14's and F-18's would be the best and most cost-effective way to meet the variety of naval missions that our military forces could face in the future.

In order to give you a fuller appreciation of our reasoning, I have asked Harold Brown to respond in detail to your letter.

I welcome your interest and look to your support in the debate over this defense budget and in other important issues facing our nation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, sweeping "C" for "Carter".

The Honorable Thomas Downey
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

THOMAS J. DOWNEY
2ND DISTRICT, NEW YORK

326 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-3333

DISTRICT OFFICE:
4 UDALL ROAD
WEST ISLIP, NEW YORK 11795
TELEPHONE: (516) 661-8777

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
February 13, 1978

1007
COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

SUBCOMMITTEES:
MILITARY PERSONNEL
MILITARY COMPENSATION

SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

COMMITTEE ON
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

SUBCOMMITTEES:
FOSSIL AND NUCLEAR ENERGY
SPACE SCIENCE AND APPLICATION

NSC
CONGRESSIONAL
LIAISON

FEB 20 1978

DE01
SM12
President Jimmy Carter
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

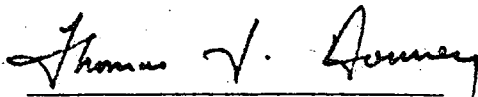
As members of the New York State Congressional Delegation we were naturally upset with your decision to reduce the Grumman F-14 procurement by \$200 million and 12 units for Fiscal Year 1979-80. In narrow parochial terms, the proposed cutback will mean the loss of several thousand jobs in our state. The cutback will have a serious affect on the economic well-being of Grumman Aerospace Corporation, the largest remaining defense contractor in the Northeast.

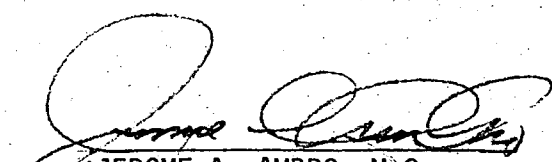
However, our main objections to your decision are not based on local interests. Rather, we believe that the F-14 Navy fighter has several unique capabilities which that service has identified as vital to our national security. The F-14, with its Phoenix missile system is capable of engaging six separate enemy targets 75 miles away. It is the only plane in the Navy's arsenal which can counter the Soviet Backfire bomber and the MiG-25 Foxbat reconnaissance aircraft. In testimony before the House Armed Services Committee on February 7, 1978 Secretary Claytor identified the Backfire as one of the main Soviet threats to our fleet in the 1980's.

Your decision would also greatly increase the unit costs of the F-14, perhaps by as much as \$4 million per aircraft.

The Navy indicated that it was faced with a close decision regarding F-14 procurement this year in light of budget restraints. We believe that your present budget should allow the Navy to continue production of the F-14 at its current level. We respectfully urge you to consider carefully Congressional efforts to add 12 F-14s to the FY 79-80 budget on national security grounds.

Sincerely,


THOMAS J. DOWNEY, M.C.


JEROME A. AMBRO, M.C.



DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN
U.S.S.



BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, M.C.

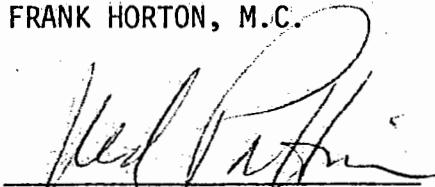

LEO C. ZEFFERETTI, M.C.

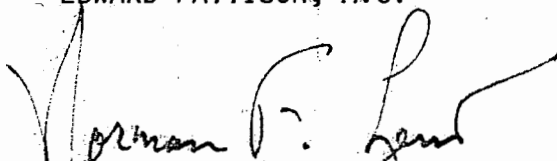

JACOB K. JAVITS, U.S.S.

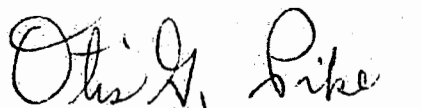
President Jimmy Carter
February 8, 1978
Page two

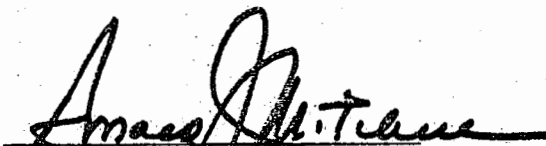

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, M.C.

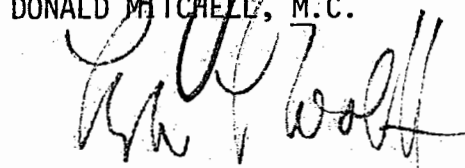

FRANK HORTON, M.C.

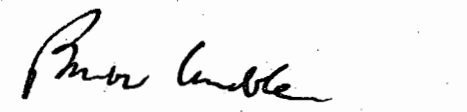

EDWARD PATTISON, M.C.


NORMAN F. LENT, M.C.

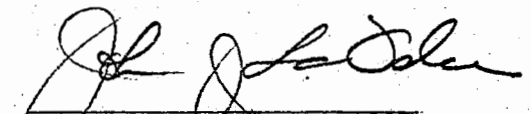

OTIS G. PIKE, M.C.

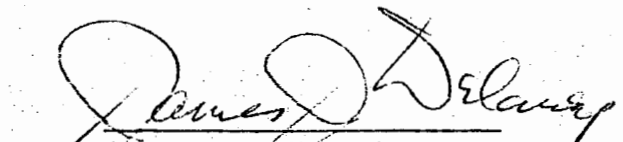

DONALD MITCHELL, M.C.



LESTER L. WOLFF, M.C.

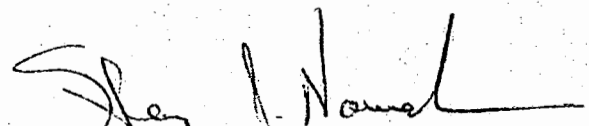

BARBER B. CONABLE, Jr., M.C.

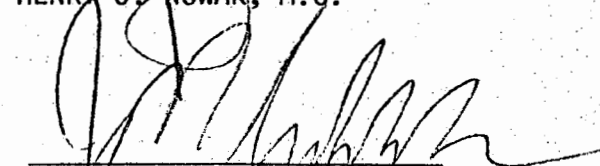

FREDERICK RICHMOND, M.C.

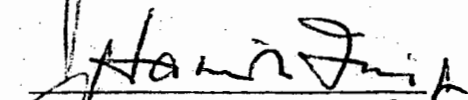

JOHN LA FALCE, M.C.

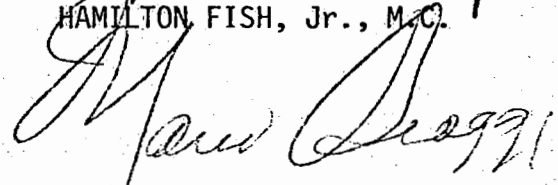

JAMES DELANEY, M.C.


STANLEY LUNDINE, M.C.

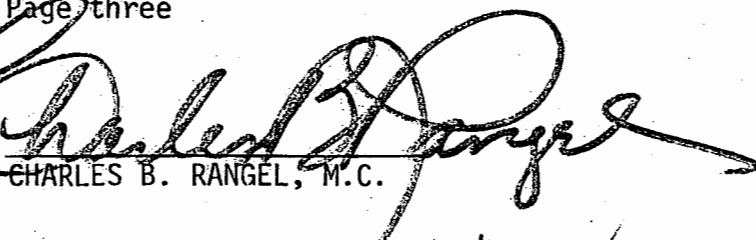

HENRY J. NOWAK, M.C.

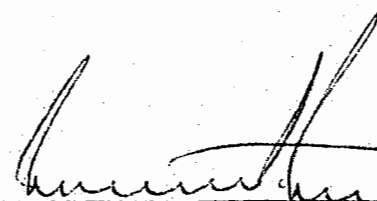

JOSEPH P. ADDABBO, M.C.

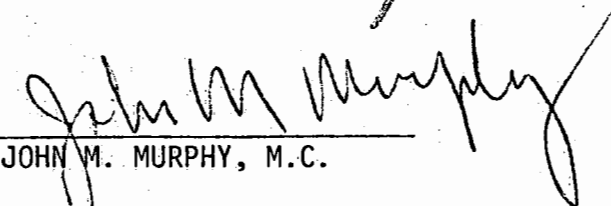

HAMILTON FISH, Jr., M.C.


MARIO BIAGGI, M.C.

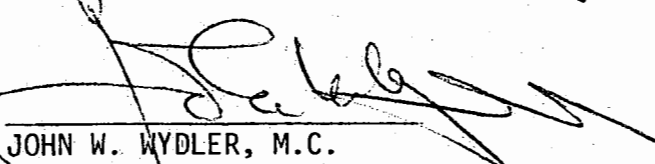
President Jimmy Carter
February 8, 1978
Page three


CHARLES B. RANGEL, M.C.

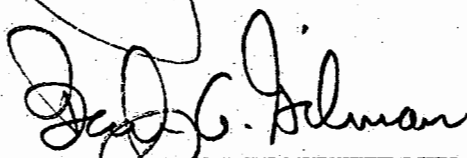

SAMUEL S. STRATTON, M.C.

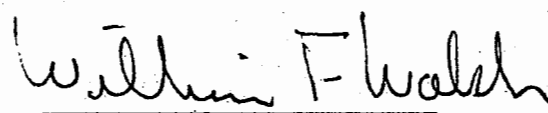

JOHN M. MURPHY, M.C.

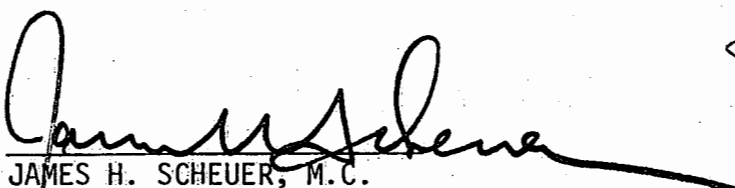

JACK F. KEMP, M.C.

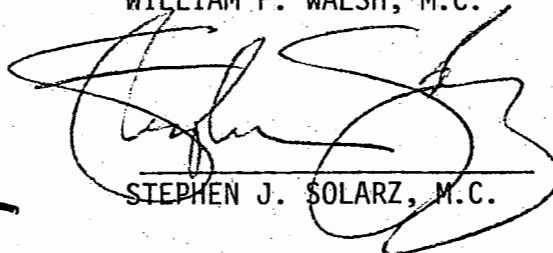

JOHN W. WYDLER, M.C.

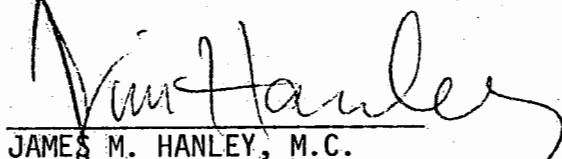

ROBERT C. MCEWEN, M.C.


BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, M.C.


WILLIAM F. WALSH, M.C.


JAMES H. SCHEUER, M.C.


STEPHEN J. SOLARZ, M.C.


JAMES M. HANLEY, M.C.


RICHARD L. OTTINGER, M.C.


BRUCE F. CAPUTO, M.C.

